

The Book World

Library of the Written Word

Editor-in-Chief

Michael B. Winship (*The University of Texas at Austin*)

Editorial Board

Bill Bell (*The Cardiff School of English, Communication & Philosophy*)

Lisa Gitelman (*New York University*)

Lisa Kuitert (*University of Amsterdam*)

Claire Parfait (*University of Paris, 13*)

VOLUME 49

The Industrial World

Series Editor

Michael B. Winship (*The University of Texas at Austin*)

VOLUME 6

The titles published in this series are listed at brill.com/lww

The Book World

Selling and Distributing British Literature, 1900–1940

Edited by

Nicola Wilson



BRILL

LEIDEN | BOSTON

Cover image: From letterhead of George Barnby, Malton. Book & Music seller, stationer, printer & book-binder, c. 1854. Courtesy John Lewis Printing Collection, University of Reading Special Collections.

The Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data is available online at <http://catalog.loc.gov>
LC record available at <http://lccn.loc.gov/2016006901>

Want or need Open Access? Brill Open offers you the choice to make your research freely accessible online in exchange for a publication charge. Review your various options on brill.com/brill-open.

Typeface for the Latin, Greek, and Cyrillic scripts: "Brill." See and download: brill.com/brill-typeface.

ISSN 1874-4834

ISBN 978-90-04-31586-0 (hardback)

ISBN 978-90-04-31588-4 (e-book)

Copyright 2016 by Koninklijke Brill nv, Leiden, The Netherlands.

Koninklijke Brill nv incorporates the imprints Brill, Brill Hes & De Graaf, Brill Nijhoff, Brill Rodopi and Hotei Publishing.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, translated, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without prior written permission from the publisher.

Authorization to photocopy items for internal or personal use is granted by Koninklijke Brill nv provided that the appropriate fees are paid directly to The Copyright Clearance Center, 222 Rosewood Drive, Suite 910, Danvers, MA 01923, USA.

Fees are subject to change.

This book is printed on acid-free paper and produced in a sustainable manner.

Contents

Acknowledgements	VII
List of Figures and Tables	VIII
Notes on Contributors	IX

1 Introduction: The Book World	1
<i>Nicola Wilson</i>	

PART 1

Audiences

2 British Publishers and Colonial Editions	15
<i>Nicola Wilson</i>	
3 A Trade in Desires: Emigration, A.C. Gunter and the Home Publishing Company	31
<i>Simon Frost</i>	
4 "Introductions by Eminent Writers": T.S. Eliot and Virginia Woolf in the Oxford World's Classics Series	52
<i>Lise Jaillant</i>	

PART 2

Genre, Marketing, and Censorship

5 Literary Success and Popular Romantic Fiction: Ethel M. Dell, a Case Study	83
<i>David Tanner</i>	
6 "The Market is Getting Flooded with Them": Richard Aldington's <i>Death of a Hero</i> and the War Books Boom	95
<i>Vincent Trott</i>	
7 Genre at the Hogarth Press	117
<i>Claire Battershill</i>	

- 8 Alec Craig, Censorship and the Literary Marketplace: A Bookman's Struggles 134
Richard Espley

PART 3

Libraries and Reading Spaces

- 9 Boots Book-Lovers' Library: Domesticating the Exotic and Building Provincial Literary Taste 153
Sally Dugan
- 10 Readers and Reading Patterns: Oral History and the Archive 171
Nickianne Moody

PART 4

Postscript

- 11 Surveying the Trade: *The Book World* and its Translocal Reach 189
Sydney J. Shep

Bibliography 199

Index 215

Acknowledgements

The Book World: Selling and Distributing British Literature, 1900–40 stems from an international conference held at the University of Reading in 2012 to mark the culmination of an AHRC-funded research project examining “The Impact of Distribution and Reading Patterns on the Novel in Britain between 1880 and 1940” (2008–12). The initial AHRC research, to which I contributed as a postdoc, was conceived by Dr Andrew Nash and Professor Patrick Parrinder and I remain grateful to them for their vision, advice and support. I would like to thank staff in Special Collections and at the Museum of English Rural Life in Reading for their help with the conference and all of the various contributors who came together on that day.

In terms of the sustained work that has gone into this volume I would like to thank all of the contributors for their essays and to acknowledge the patience and professionalism they have shown while the book has come together. I would also like to thank Brill’s anonymous readers for their thoughtful comments and careful readings, and Simon Davies for his work on the index.

Nicola Wilson

December 2015

List of Figures and Tables

Figures

- 3.1 Advertiser from *Gunter's Magazine* 1.6, July 1905, 8 42
- 3.2 *Miss Nobody of Nowhere* (1890), front cover 46
- 3.3 "As I was," Vere Foster, *Work and Wages: or the Penny Emigrant's Guide to the United States and Canada* (1885) 48
- 3.4 "As I am," Vere Foster, *Work and Wages* (1885) 49
- 4.1 Dust jacket, *Crime & Detection* (c. 1926, unknown illustrator) 63
- 4.2 Poster, *Ghosts & Marvels* and *Crime & Detection*, reproduced in the *Bookseller*, August 1926, 32 64
- 4.3 Dust jacket, *The Moonstone*, Oxford World's Classics (c. 1966) 70
- 4.4 Advertisement for the World's Classics, *New York Times*, 3 June 1934 77
- 4.5 Cumulated sales figures, uk: *The Moonstone* (1928), *Sentimental Journey* (1928), *Selected Modern English Essays, Second Series* (1932), *English Critical Essays, Twentieth Century* (1933) 80
- 6.1 Paul Nash's dustcover design for the Chatto & Windus edition of *Death of a Hero* (1929) 103
- 6.2 Design for the first Putnam edition of *All Quiet on the Western Front* (1929) 105
- 6.3 Design for the second Putnam edition of *All Quiet on the Western Front* (1929) 106
- 6.4 Chatto & Windus advert for *Death of a Hero* in the *Publisher and Bookseller*, 27 September 1929, p. 543 111
- 7.1 1939 Hogarth Press complete catalogue 129
- 7.2 Distribution of titles by genre in the 1939 Hogarth Press catalogue 130
- 9.1 The Boots Pelham Street Store, Nottingham 155
- 9.2 The Boots Beeston Store 156
- 9.3 Boots shop under construction at 15 Cornhill, Bury St Edmunds (c. 1910) 157
- 9.4 The Kingston-on-Thames Boots Book-lovers' Library 159
- 9.5 "Book Bargains" flyer (c. 1906) 164

Tables

- 2.1 Sale and distribution figures for Ann Bridge, *Peking Picnic*, by 24 October 1933 22
- 2.2 Sale and distribution figures for Ann Bridge, *Enchanter's Nightshade*, by 31 March 1939 24
- 4.1 Bindings and prices (in shillings and pence) for each edition of the World's Classics, 1907 59

Notes on Contributors

Claire Battershill

Dr Claire Battershill is a Banting postdoctoral fellow in the Department of English at Simon Fraser University. Previously she held a SSHRC postdoc at the University of Reading, where she worked on materials from the Archive of British Publishing and Printing. She has published articles and book chapters on a variety of aspects of twentieth-century literary culture and book history. She is also a fiction writer and her first book of short stories, *Circus*, was published with McClelland & Stewart (an imprint of Penguin Random House Canada) in April 2014.

Sally Dugan

Dr Sally Dugan is the author of *The Scarlet Pimpernel: A Publishing History* (Ashgate, 2012). Her interest in the marketing, readership and reception of the middlebrow stems from her professional background as a journalist. She took her doctorate at Birkbeck, University of London, and has also taught at Middlesex and Oxford Brookes.

Richard Espley

Dr Richard Espley has published variously on Virginia Woolf, the literary portrayal of London Zoo, on representations of the First World War, and on Djuna Barnes, the subject of his PhD. He is currently Head of Modern Collections at Senate House Library, University of London.

Simon Frost

Dr Simon Frost is Senior Lecturer in English at Bournemouth University. His publications include *Business of a Novel: Economics, Aesthetics and the case of Middlemarch* (2012), "Economising in Public" in *Book History* 17 (2014) and, as editor, *Moveable Type, Mobile Nations: Interactions in Transnational Book History* (2010). He is Director of Transnational Affairs for the Society for the History of Authorship, Reading and Publishing (SHARP), and a Senior Editor for Oxford University Press, ORE; the Oxford Research Encyclopedia. Simon is currently working on the project Personal Gains and Retailed Literature, which attempts to create a theory of politicised reading within the frame of economics.

Lise Jaillant

Dr Lise Jaillant is Lecturer in English at Loughborough University. Most of her work has been on twentieth-century literary institutions (publishing houses, creative writing programmes). Her monograph *Modernism, Middlebrow and*

the Literary Canon (Routledge, 2014) focuses on the Modern Library, a cheap series of reprints that published works such as Virginia Woolf's *Mrs Dalloway*, James Joyce's *Dubliners* and *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, as well as "popular" literature. Her essay on the Oxford World's Classics is part of a larger project on European uniform reprint series that widened the market for modernist texts in the 1920s and 1930s.

Nickianne Moody

Dr Nickianne Moody is Principal Lecturer in Media and Cultural Studies at Liverpool John Moores University. Publications include work on most popular genres, nineteenth and twentieth-century fiction, popular culture, and more specifically on cultures of reading. Current research areas are entertainment media and the Liddell Hart Collection of Costume.

Sydney J. Shep

Dr Sydney J. Shep is Reader in Book History and director of the Wai-te-ata Press at Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand. Sydney specialises in a variety of book history and print culture research projects, including the history of paper and papermaking in nineteenth-century New Zealand, edible typography and street graffiti, Wellington's book trade history, diasporic print cultures and transnational book history. In 2014, she was awarded a Marsden Fund grant to study William Colenso and the Victorian Republic of Letters, with a focus on personal geographies and global networks. Sydney is also a practising letterpress printer, exhibiting book artist, and designer bookbinder who undertakes creative research commissions at Wai-te-ata Press.

David Tanner

David Tanner M.A. (London University, School of Oriental and African Studies) is an independent academic, with a career both as an entrepreneur and within international corporations, living in Japan, The Philippines and the United States. He has published on military history and historical fiction, and is currently engaged in a major biographical anthology of Ethel M. Dell.

Vincent Trott

Dr Vincent Trott completed a collaborative doctoral degree with the Open University and the British Library in 2014. His doctoral thesis explored the role played by publishers and readers in the construction of the memory of the First World War in Britain. He currently teaches Book History at Oxford Brookes and works as Executive Assistant for the Society for the History of Authorship, Reading and Publishing (SHARP).

Nicola Wilson

Dr Nicola Wilson is Lecturer in Book and Publishing studies at the University of Reading. She is working on a British Academy-funded project exploring the impact of the Book Society Ltd 1929–60. Much of her recent writing on literary publishing and the early twentieth-century book trade has drawn on the Archives of British Publishing and Printing at Reading. She is the author of *Home in British Working-Class Fiction* (Ashgate, 2015) and general editor of the Ethel Carnie Holdsworth series (Kennedy & Boyd, 2013–).

Introduction: The Book World

Nicola Wilson

I

In October 1935, John Hampden's edited volume of essays on the contemporary book world in Britain was published by the Edinburgh-based firm of Thomas Nelson & Sons. It aimed to provide "a new and fairly complete survey of the book world of to-day in all its chief aspects" and "most vital problems," intending to capture the interest of "everyone who is concerned with books and their making . . . and entertain . . . the general reader who has a natural curiosity about authors, publishers and booksellers."¹ Conceived during a joint meeting of publishers and booksellers in 1934, the book was written by prominent members of the trade and included chapters on authorship and literary agents, publishing, reviewing and book production, as well as bookselling in London and abroad, in the provinces and on the second-hand market, and chapters examining the role of the public and circulating libraries.

A little more than twenty years later a new volume appeared under the imprint of Allen & Unwin called *The Book World Today* (1957).² Again this was edited by Hampden, no longer general editor at Nelson but now in charge of a group of departments dealing with books and distribution at the British Council. *The Book World Today* was much expanded, with almost double the original number of contributors. New chapters addressed the various changes in bookselling and publishing since the mid-1930s, with contributions focusing on publishing for young readers and educational publishing, on book clubs and the "rise" of paper-bound books (the latter written by the founder of Penguin books, Sir Allen Lane), and on the myriad links between books and new popular media forms such as television.

As snap-shots of the British "book worlds" of the mid-1930s and late 1950s respectively, the volumes offered a rich and distinctive picture of the problems and shifting priorities in the making and distribution of books in Britain in the first half of the twentieth century. *The Book World* and *The Book World*

1 Henry Scheurmier, 'Foreword,' in John Hampden, ed., *The Book World* (London: Nelson, 1935), p. vii, and inside front cover blurb.

2 John Hampden, ed., *The Book World Today: A New Survey of the Making and Distribution of Books in Britain* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1957).

Today are important works, marking early attempts “to survey in one volume the processes by which books are produced and distributed in Britain.”³ Like Q.D. Leavis’s better known *Fiction and the Reading Public* (published by Chatto & Windus in 1932), they represent significant landmarks in studies of the history of the book in Britain by examining the practices of authorship and print production, dissemination and reception; practices with which, at least since Robert Darnton’s influential model of the “communications circuit,” we are now so familiar.⁴ Alongside the long-running records of trade journals like the *Publishers’ Circular* and *Booksellers’ Record* and *The Library World*, they help to describe the people and processes involved in the making of books and put the challenges facing today’s book industry into longer historical perspective.

II

The Book World: Selling and Distributing British Literature, 1900–40 stems from a conference held at the University of Reading to mark the end of an AHRC-funded project examining the impact of distribution and reading patterns on the novel in Britain between 1880 and 1940.⁵ Questioning the impact of circulating libraries, book clubs, and the marketplace in former British colonies upon the production and revision of literary texts, one of the project’s aims was to bring the methodologies and concerns of book history into dialogue with the writing of literary history. Despite the growth of book history as a discipline and the many developments in our understandings of the materiality of literature and its methods of exchange in the early twentieth century, there can still be a reluctance to discuss literary texts, their physical forms, or their production and revision, in terms of sales and distribution.⁶ As Andrew Nash has argued, issues of bibliography and the history of the book are “rarely made

3 John Hampden, ‘Foreword,’ in Hampden, ed., *The Book World Today* (see above, n. 2), p. 5.

4 Robert Darnton, ‘What is the history of books?’, *Daedalus* 111.3 (1982), 65–83.

5 Patrick Parrinder, Andrew Nash, and Nicola Wilson, ‘The Impact of Distribution and Reading Patterns on the Novel in Britain, 1880–1940’ [accessed June 2014], <http://www.reading.ac.uk/english-literature/research/ell-novel-project.aspx>

6 For evidence of this intellectual shift see for instance Laurence Rainey, *Institutions of Modernism: Literary Elites and Public Culture* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale UP, 1998); George Bornstein, *Material Modernism: The Politics of the Page* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2001); ‘The Modernist Journals Project’ [accessed June 2014], <http://modjourn.org/>; Faye Hammill, ‘Middlebrow Network’ [accessed June 2014], <http://www.middlebrow-network.com/About.aspx>

central to acts of interpretation and still influence[] the writing of literary history in largely ancillary ways.”⁷

According to publisher Stanley Unwin's introductions to Hampden's two edited collections, the major factors affecting the production and distribution of books between 1900 and 1940 were the continuing impact of literary censorship and the growth of the “New Reading Public.” The former referred to the difficulties of working under the vague and arbitrary terms of the Obscene Publications Act of 1857, where responsibility for upholding the law fell to publishers and printers (this was not redressed, at least in statutory terms, until the passing of the Obscene Publications Act of 1959, immediately tested by the decision of Penguin Books to publish *Lady Chatterley's Lover*). The latter invoked what Sidney Dark – joint editor of *John O'London's Weekly*, the mass-market literary periodical founded at the end of the First World War – had described as “that ever-increasing company drawn from what we commonly call the lower middle class and the working class, who have discovered that the literature of their country is a priceless possession which is their very own.”⁸ With new avenues for sales and distribution emerging in this period, including the rise of twopenny libraries in newsagents and tobacconists, the rapid expansion of free public libraries, and the continuing growth of commercial circulating libraries, there was a heightened sense of a widely diverging and stratified audience. “Collectively more books are being sold, and . . . they are being more widely distributed,” Unwin noted in his 1935 introduction.⁹ In his later introduction to *The Book World Today*, he argued that the increased “taste” for reading acquired by many during the Second World War, along with the spread of secondary and adult education after its end and “the vast improvement in the teaching of English,” had all led to an increased demand for books through and into the postwar years.¹⁰

This characterisation of the book world raises a number of questions that cut across literary and book history research and which comprise the focus of this collection. How far were publishers and authors consciously seeking to

7 Andrew Nash, “Textual Instability and the Contemporary Novel: Reading Janice Galloway's *The Trick is to Keep Breathing On and Off the Page*,” in Patrick Parrinder, Andrew Nash and Nicola Wilson, eds., *New Directions in the History of the Novel* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), pp. 50–62 (p. 51).

8 Sidney Dark, *The New Reading Public. A lecture under the auspices of The Society of Bookmen* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1922), p. 5.

9 Stanley Unwin, ‘Introduction,’ in Hampden, ed., *The Book World* (see above, n. 1), pp. 1–11 (p. 9).

10 Stanley Unwin, ‘Introduction,’ in Hampden, ed., *The Book World Today* (see above, n. 2), pp. 9–16 (p. 14).

produce texts acceptable to the readers and major distributors in the literary marketplace of the time, and what constraints did this involve? To what extent did changes in reading patterns and the supposed stratification of the book market in the early twentieth century influence what was written and produced? What contribution can analysis of changes in distribution and reading patterns make to our understanding of the history of literature, of reading, and of print culture in these years? Based upon original archival research and adding to recent work by Mary Hammond, Joseph McAleer and others, the chapters in this book widen our understanding of the role played by the distributors of books in the early twentieth century, and of the practices of trade, circulation and consumption in literary and cultural production.¹¹

By adopting the title of “The Book World” this collection invokes the spirit of the earlier volumes but is clearly different in scope and content to them. For one thing the chapters here are mainly written by academics rather than book trade practitioners, and are concerned with how the operations of the book trade in the early twentieth century impacted upon the production, revision, marketing and distribution of literary texts, and particularly fiction. For another, it hopes to avoid some of the national blindspots of the “book world” as oxymoron; as study primarily of Paternoster Row and the old metropolis. Though there is discussion of the “export” trade in Hampden’s edited volumes and a chapter by Unwin on “English Books Abroad” (renamed “British Books Abroad” in the second volume) they are products of their time in terms of their imperial outlook and nation-centredness (Hampden’s daytime job for the British Council, which had “95 libraries in 57 countries” open to the public at the end of 1956, also resonates here).¹² The “book world” is of course, and always has been, multivalent, disruptive and complex, and postcolonial scholars and book historians have led the charge against “the insular privileging of the nation” to try and “properly account for the origins, development and proliferation of verbal diffusion in a global environment.”¹³ In the chapters collected here there is a keen sense of the circulation and consumption of “books

11 Mary Hammond, *Reading, Publishing and the Formation of Literary Taste in England, 1880–1914* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006); Joseph McAleer, *Popular Reading and Publishing in Britain 1914–1950* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1992).

12 John Hampden, ‘Books and the British Council,’ in Hampden, ed., *The Book World Today* (see above, n. 2), pp. 224–9 (p. 226).

13 Alison Rukavina, *The Development of the International Book Trade, 1870–1895: Tangled Networks* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), p. 9; Robert Fraser, *Book History through Postcolonial Eyes* (London: Routledge, 2008), p. x.

without borders,” as well as of the wider provincial trade and distribution of books in often overlooked areas of the British Isles.¹⁴

The book is divided into three main sections, with a postscript by Sydney J. Shep. The first three chapters written by myself, Simon Frost, and Lise Jaillard respectively, address the question of “Audiences.” The period 1900–40 has often been associated with the growth of the reading public and a perceived stratification of literature and print. Here we consider the impact of global distribution and readership upon the sale, circulation and production of literary texts, as well as the different reading markets sought after, created and addressed by particular authors and texts. My chapter explores the impact of audiences from the former colonies as a *primary* market for British publishing houses in the period. While educational publishing is the best known aspect of the British export business of the time, the less often studied colonial editions (cheaper versions of an ordinary first edition) were a major part of the British publishing industry from the mid-nineteenth century to the mid-1960s, typically forming between twenty and thirty percent of a title’s first print run. Though there is less evidence of the impact of overseas readers on editorial processes in the archives of British publishing houses than can be found as regards to the patrons of large circulating libraries like W.H. Smith or Boots, colonial readers and distributors were nevertheless close to publishers’ thoughts when the latter were accepting manuscripts and marketing them, just as wholesalers and booksellers overseas yielded significant influence in publishers’ trade departments.

Simon Frost’s chapter on émigré reading habits and the contents of trans-oceanic passenger ships’ libraries engages with recent work in transatlantic studies, matters of translation, and the practice of “books without borders.” Frost argues that the large readers’ market created by the mass European migrations of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries “defies the logic of transmission that sees production rippling outward from metropolitan centres, or as the result of a simple two-way process between centre and periphery (as in the original *Book World* of 1935), and instead . . . look[s] for complex multi-layered exchanges between communicating hubs.” Incorporating ideas from sociology and economics, Frost argues provocatively for reconfiguring consumption away from instances of individual reader response and towards larger “patterns of use.” His arguments aim to disrupt the hierarchical categories of “the brows” – a popular contemporary

14 Robert Fraser and Mary Hammond, eds., *Books Without Borders*, 2 vols. (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).

discourse to which several chapters in this book respond – urging us to reconsider our ideas about literary production and the value of literature to its readers.

Lise Jaillant's chapter on the Oxford World's Classics series intersects many of the thematic concerns of this book. Based on detailed research in publishers' archives, Jaillant considers the role of the celebrity (or "consecrated") writer in the marketing of texts and the branding and coherence of publishers' series. Questioning, as does Frost, long-standing ideas of the stratification of literature in this period, Jaillant demonstrates the links between the worlds of the highbrow and of popular culture through case studies examining T.S. Eliot and Virginia Woolf's engagement with the Oxford World's Classics series and its leading publishers. Jaillant shows how Eliot and Woolf's introductions to two of the World's Classics titles "helped to sell cheap books" in the UK and America, and how engaging with this large, transatlantic readership was important to the authors' own networks and careers. Like "The New Modernist Studies" to which she refers, Jaillant demonstrates the porous relationship between high modernism and the marketplace in the period 1900–40.

The second section of the book is titled "Genre, Marketing, and Censorship." The four chapters here offer detailed case studies of the relationships between particular authors, publishers, and literary agents, examining how their respective sense of the literary marketplace and the tastes and demands of its key distributors and readers impacted upon the production, marketing and sales of literary texts. David Tanner's chapter examines the enigmatic and reclusive figure of Ethel M. Dell, prolific author of bestselling romantic fiction, stock-in-trade of the local twopenny libraries and doyenne of the so-called low-brow. Based on access to her personal letters, Tanner explores Dell's relationship with her publishers, T. Fisher Unwin, and literary agents J.B. Pinker and A.P. Watt (the great names in literary agents of the time), depicting a woman who became hugely wealthy despite having parted with many of her early copyrights. Exploring the wider generic context of the distribution of Dell's work, Tanner examines how changes in book distribution, the use of different publishing media and the creative mediums of magazine, film, stage and radio were contributory factors to Dell's success, helping to widen her potential reading audience and increase the volume sales of her titles.

With Vincent Trott's chapter we move away from the clearly defined genre, audience, and marketing from which Ethel M. Dell's work profited, to a more complex, ambiguous engagement with generic trends and marketing techniques. Surviving correspondence between the novelist Richard Aldington and his publisher, Charles Prentice, regarding the production and marketing of his

World War One novel, *Death of a Hero* (1929), reveals a nuanced understanding of the contemporary marketplace and the desire of author and publisher to pitch the text to maximum effect. As a book notorious for the textual elisions it underwent in order to achieve publication, *Death of a Hero* makes visible some of the concessions and compromises a literary work could undergo in deference to the censorious morals of the time. Carefully tracing the competing demands made upon Aldington and Prentice, Trott's work explores the commercial and literary contexts informing the decision-making process behind the dust jacket, paratexts, and marketing of *Death of a Hero*; a novel which was to achieve respectable, though only modest, sales, as compared to other well-known titles of the "War Books Boom." Trott's chapter shows the rich and rewarding potentialities of archival research when the correspondence between author and publisher survives in something close to its totality (a rare event), and spanning the entire publishing and marketing process.

Claire Battershill's chapter in this section develops Trott's study of the marketing and reviewing practices characteristic to one particular genre, to consider the wider strategic categorisations, headings, and price points utilised by the book trade to indicate generic codes more broadly. Through detailed analysis of the methods of organisation adopted in the marketing, advertising and cataloguing of works published by Leonard and Virginia Woolf's Hogarth Press, Battershill indicates how "the Hogarth Press found innovative ways of approaching classification and categorisation while maintaining the generic hybridity and complexity of the works that they published." Her study asks many pertinent questions about the workings of the book trade of the time, including the Net Book Agreement's stratification of book-buying practices on genre lines, in addition to the Woolfs' interventions on the recurrent question of the "overproduction" of books. Battershill's chapter illustrates the benefits of applying questions of book historical origin to literature and aesthetics. As she points out, "looking from the perspective of the book trade invites an approach to genre not strictly (or even primarily) as a series of literary conventions, but as a practical tool by which publishers and periodicals communicate with readers."

The last chapter of this section by Richard Espley is devoted to the work of anti-censorship campaigner, Alec Craig. Best known for *The Banned Books of England and Other Countries* (1937), Craig fought vigorously against what he saw as the suppression of literary freedom and in particular the confusions surrounding the libel law and Obscene Publications Act. As Stanley Unwin stressed in both of his *Book World* introductions, the fining and prosecution of publishers in high-profile obscenity trials had left a powerful legacy. Added to this atmosphere of caution and prudery was the role played by librarians,

social purity organisations, printers, and custom officers.¹⁵ Analysing the content and context of Alec Craig's work and the fascinating legacy surrounding the depositing of Craig's own "controversial" archive, Espley explores "the cultural and commercial realities underlying the rhetoric of freedom as championed by Craig and many modernist writers." His chapter offers a nuanced reading of Craig's interventions in contemporary debates about censorship and the stratification of the book market (in terms of audience, distribution and the materiality of books) and the long-standing associations between commercialism, the pursuit of profit, and sex. As Espley points out, "there is a powerful drive within the publishing industry to structure itself through a heavily freighted avoidance of purely commercial interests." Analysing the publishing history of some of Craig's own publications, including readers' reports for two works ultimately not published, Espley shows how these drives can break down as well as the "deeply abiding contradictions" within them.

The third section of the book considers "Libraries and Reading Spaces." Sally Dugan's chapter focuses on the still under-researched Boots Book-lovers' Libraries (1899–66) and delves into another aspect of the censorious literary marketplace of the time: the role played by commercial circulating libraries. As one of the major customers for newly published novels up until the end of the Second World War, the "Big Four" circulating libraries (Boots, Mudie's Select Circulating Library, W.H. Smith, and the *Times* Book Club) and their readers had a powerful impact on the sale and distribution of literature.¹⁶ Here Dugan explores the brand fostered by Boots and the careful relationship it created with its patrons by way of interior decoration, publicity materials, and membership tokens. Library prospectuses, as she points out, used the formulas of polite society to invite potential readers to open an annual subscription with the firm as though they were joining an elite club. Respectability, exclusivity and nostalgia were key values, even while Boots sought the trade of a wide variety of aspirational consumers. Assessing the design and architectural principles behind some of the provincial buildings in which Boots housed its early stores, Dugan equates the loyalty developed by Boots Book-lovers' Library patrons to that enjoyed by popular publishers' series like the Oxford World's Classics (see Jaillant's chapter in this book). Her chapter also explores the literary tastes and

15 See also David Bradshaw and Rachel Potter, eds., *Prudes on the Prowl: Fiction and Obscenity in England, 1850 to the Present Day* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2013).

16 In 1928, publishers estimated that between a quarter to two thirds of all the books they published went to the big four circulating libraries, where over eighty per cent of the books in demand was said to be fiction. See Society of Bookmen, *Report of the Commercial Circulating Libraries Sub-Committee, etc.* (London, [n.p.] 1928), pp. 6, 10.

judgements propounded by Boots as evidenced in its catalogues and the advice of its head librarians. Examining the influence of Ernest A. Baker and the American George Iles – leading figures of the contemporary library world – upon the materials produced by Boots to guide the tastes of its readers, Dugan pinpoints an “intellectual snobbery, a reverence for male writers and a prejudice against the female romance.” Anchored in a wide range of source materials, her chapter makes a compelling intervention in current debates assessing the nature of the literary middlebrow.

The penultimate chapter in the book, written by Nickianne Moody from the perspective of media and cultural studies, reflects on the methodologies of current research into reading patterns. Arguing against an over-reliance upon quantitative research materials “focused on locating or being in a position to estimate figures related to print runs, sales, circulation and readership,” Moody argues for a greater use and understanding of oral history research. Drawing upon her own dataset of oral history recordings conducted in the mid-1990s with subscribers, librarians and employees of Boots Book-lovers’ Library, Moody shows how “oral history sources can be used to provide evidence about past practice which cannot be uncovered from conventional historical documents.” Her work complements the oral history research on reading and reading patterns undertaken by a number of recently-funded international teams, and sets up a powerful dialogue with other chapters in the book that are based heavily on research in publishers’ archives (particularly the chapters written by myself, Lise Jaillant, and Vincent Trott).¹⁷ Her emphasis on the “subjective experiences” of readers and librarians, though framed differently, works in cohort with Simon Frost’s call for a “user-oriented model” of literature and reading patterns. Moody’s chapter also marks an interesting point of contrast with Sally Dugan’s research and its very different source materials on Boots. Despite their many differences in outlook and methods, both writers aim to explore the Boots Book-lovers’ Libraries as, in Moody’s words, “a cultural environment in which the exchange of knowledge, social attitudes and cultural values took place.”

Sydney J. Shep’s evocative postscript takes us back to the initial starting points for this collection – the 1935 and 1957 volumes of *The Book World* – but from the perspective of provenance and readership history, reminding us that the material book is an “object with a bibliography but also an object with a

17 See for instance ‘RED: The Reading Experience Database’ [accessed June 2014], <http://www.open.ac.uk/Arts/reading/>; Erica Brown, ‘Readerships and Literary Cultures 1900–50’ [accessed June 2014], <http://www.middlebrow-network.com/SpecialCollection.aspx>; Shelley Trower, Graham Smith, and Amy Murphy, ‘Memories of Fiction: An Oral History’ [accessed September 2014], <http://memoriesoffiction.org/>.

biography.” As a reader, scholar and printer calling up the various editions of *The Book World* now housed in libraries in Wellington, New Zealand, Shep reflects on the material book as “a thing of beauty” and “a commodity in circulation,” “a material object with a material politics.” Guiding us through the borrowing history and readerly interactions with the different versions of *The Book World* that she encounters, Shep offers a thoughtful take on the global economy of writing, printing, publishing and reading and the importance of translocal publishing industries and infrastructure. Her postscript offers a personal and nuanced development to the earlier explorations of “Audiences” in this book as undertaken by myself, Simon Frost and Lise Jaillant.

Where does all of this leave us? The different approaches to methodology in the book reflect the diversity of research questions, the variety of treatments and methods of approach. Attempting to think around, describe, and account for the various operations of the book world and its processes of literary and cultural production in the early twentieth century requires different strategies and source materials. Reading – and asking questions of – publishers’ and book trade archives, as well as datasets of oral history, library catalogues, correspondence, and evidence of the practices of marketing, advertising and reviewing, enhances our understanding of literary culture and its patterns of sale and distribution. No one method of enquiry or result is privileged; all archives are constructions of some sort and provisional by their very nature. “I have been trying to clear out some of my Publishers Association material and have made a start with the huge dossier concerning the Book Manufacturers’ Association,” wrote Allen & Unwin to F.D. Sanders, secretary of the Publishers Association, in May 1937. “I have destroyed as far as practicable all duplicate material and am sending herewith original correspondence which I think you had better hold with your records.”¹⁸ The practical challenges and theoretical complexities facing oral history researchers, digital humanists, and others involved in creating large-scale datasets of reading, publishing networks, or library borrowing today reflect in many ways the traditional lacunae in paper-based records and sets. The archive is part of the story and instrumental to methods of narration, as many of the chapters collected here demonstrate and offer reflections upon.

There is a great deal about the operations of the book world in the period 1900–40 still to be explored and more to be said about some aspects that this book only touches on, especially the impact of twopenny libraries, paperback

18 Allen & Unwin to F.D. Sanders, 6 May 1937. Reading, University of Reading Special Collections, Chatto & Windus archive, MS 2444, CW 47/37.

publishing, Anglophone literature in translation, and developments in printing and typography.¹⁹ What the contributors offer here is a nuanced awareness of the role played by the sale and distribution of British literature in the first four decades of the twentieth century. This account brings to the fore how the marketing and categorisation practices of the book trade, how reading on steam ships, in circulating libraries, or through book clubs, impacted variously upon the relations between authors and publishers and more widely upon the literary scene. Such an account continues to enrich our understanding of early twentieth-century literature, the patterns and practices of cultural exchange, and the multifarious workings of the book trade. We hope that today's readers, mindful of the many changes of practice in our contemporary book world, will take profit from and enjoy it.

19 For recent work in these areas see Christopher Hilliard, 'The Twopenny Library: The Book Trade, Working-Class Readers, and "Middlebrow" Novels in Britain, 1930–42,' *Twentieth-Century British History* 25.2 (2014), 199–220; William Wootten and George Donaldson, eds., *Reading Penguin: A Critical Anthology* (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Press, 2013); and David Finkelstein, 'SAPPHIRE: The Scottish Archive of Print & Publishing History Records,' especially 'Printers on the Move' and 'Typographical Journals' [accessed June 2014], <http://www.sapphire.ac.uk/printers-on-the-move/>

PART 1

Audiences



British Publishers and Colonial Editions

Nicola Wilson

[T]he export of English books is going on all the time through many channels and to an extent few realize¹

STANLEY UNWIN, 'English books abroad,' 1935

Nestling amongst the typed correspondence, private papers and recorded minutes in the archive of the British publishing house of Chatto & Windus lays a pencil draft for a Cable & Wireless telegram sent on 7 September 1937:

Published
Melbourne, Perth, Sydney, Wellington
Enchanter's Nightshade Book Society Choice November
Chatto.²

Enchanter's Nightshade (1937), the fourth published novel by popular author Ann Bridge (Lady Mary Dolling O'Malley, 1889–1974), was one of her “Adriatic novels,” a romance and comedy of cultural and generational clashes set amongst the provincial nobility of Italian society.³ It was Bridge's third novel selected as “Choice” of the month by the influential British book club, the Book Society Limited, a global distributor with members in over thirty countries. A few days later, on 13 September 1937, Joseph Hicks of Hicks, Smith & Wright, publishers' representatives in Australasia, replied to Chatto from his office in Melbourne, acknowledging the cable and thanking them for “giving us further consideration regarding the marketing business.”⁴ He added later: “Very glad to have the note regarding Enchanter's Nightshade and I think unique for an author to get three books selected by the Book Society.”⁵

1 Stanley Unwin, 'English Books Abroad,' in John Hampden, ed., *The Book World* (London: Nelson, 1935), pp. 163–80 (p. 180).

2 Reading, University of Reading Special Collections (hereafter UoR), Chatto & Windus archive, MS 2444, CW 71/4.

3 Ann Bridge, *Facts and Fictions* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1968), p. 52.

4 Joseph Hicks to Harold Raymond, 13 September 1937 (see above, n. 2).

5 Joseph Hicks to Harold Raymond, 13 October 1937. Ibid.

The serendipitous preservation of this telegram in the publisher's archive frames my concern with the colonial book trade and the impact of distributors upon reading practices and literary culture in this chapter, as well as with the process and practices of archiving and the methodologies of book history research, as explored by other chapters in this book. The hastily jotted down note for a telegram sent out from a busy London publishing house to its agents in Australia and New Zealand is a snapshot of the ephemeral and time-bound, yet regular work-a-day exchanges that underpinned the Anglophone book trade and its global networks of marketing and distribution throughout the first half of the twentieth century. Laying loose amongst typed, more formal, documents that have been carefully edited, cleared out and filed before being deposited in the archive, the pencilled telegram is a reminder and *remainder* of the international trade in British books in this period. It indicates the significance of global trade to London-based publishers while also capturing the latter's awareness of relaying important marketing news to booksellers and readers in the former colonies with speed and urgency. A precise, twelve word communiqué, it gestures towards important questions about power, cultural exchange and transmission that analysis of the colonial Anglophone book trade necessarily brings to the fore.

Many areas of literary and historical research have over the past few years enjoyed a "transnational turn" and book history is in this sense no exception. Important work by Sydney J. Shep, Robert Fraser, Isabel Hofmeyr and many others has challenged national frameworks for explaining the history of books and literature, and demonstrated the very long history of books travelling and moving "without borders."⁶ Such research has shown how, in Hofmeyr's words, "forms of influence consequently flow in more than one direction and developments are shaped in multiple sites."⁷ My starting place in this chapter, which considers patterns of export and distribution and is heavily based on research in the Archives of British Publishing and Printing at the University of Reading, may not seem the most likely place to engage with revisionist, transnational book histories. But the colonial marketplace in the period 1900–40 was a much more important part of the *primary* audience for new books published and

6 See for instance Sydney J. Shep, 'Books Without Borders: The Transnational Turn in Book History,' in Robert Fraser and Mary Hammond, eds., *Books Without Borders*, 2 vols. (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 1: 13–37; Robert Fraser, *Book History through Postcolonial Eyes* (London: Routledge, 2008); Isabel Hofmeyr, *The Portable Bunyan: A Transnational History of The Pilgrim's Progress* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 2004).

7 Isabel Hofmeyr, 'From Book Development to Book History – Some Observations on the History of the Book in Africa,' *SHARP News* 13.3 (2004), 3.

distributed from London than is often recognised, and publishers' archives reveal the significance of bookshops, wholesalers and readers from the former colonies. Recent scholarship on the colonial marketplace and reading patterns has offered important insights into western histories of the book. Paul Eggert for instance has explored the contribution made by Australian booksellers to the collapse of the three-decker novel in Britain in the late nineteenth-century, while Priya Joshi's landmark work demonstrates how Indian readers and the impact of their tastes and demands helped shape the production of the English novel in the Victorian period.⁸ This chapter seeks to add to this research through studying the sale and distribution of British publishing houses' ubiquitous "Colonial Editions."

British Publishers and the "Empire Market"

In his chapter on "English books abroad" for *The Book World* of 1935, publishing statesman Stanley Unwin estimated that the "Export Trade" constituted "more than a third of the business done by my firm in normal times."⁹ The Anglophone book market was a large global business in the early twentieth century with, as Unwin pointed out, "the circulation of English books . . . not confined by any means to English-speaking peoples."¹⁰ Describing the market for the distribution of English books around the world, Unwin first considered the Continent and the Dutch trade which exported books "to Java and the Dutch East Indies"; then Palestine and Egypt; East and West Africa; South Africa ("a good market"); Australia ("a big consumer of English books – one of the largest overseas"); New Zealand; the South Sea Islands; Japan; China; India ("Here again the universality of the English language is an inestimable advantage"); America ("the most important country of all"); and Canada, Newfoundland and the West Indies.¹¹ As Alison Rukavina has recently explored in *The Development of the International Book Trade, 1870–1895* (2010), publishers and book trade agents "negotiated, collaborated, and competed as the international book trade developed . . . [and] Increasingly . . . thought about the world not as a vast geographical expanse but

8 Paul Eggert, 'Robbery Under Arms: The Colonial Market, Imperial Publishers, and the Demise of the Three-Decker Novel,' *Book History* 6 (2003), 127–46; Priya Joshi, *In Another Country: Colonialism, Culture, and the English Novel in India* (New York: Columbia UP, 2002).

9 Unwin, 'English Books Abroad,' (see above, n. 1), p. 180.

10 Ibid., p. 163.

11 Ibid., pp. 165, 169, 174–6.

as a negotiable space in which commodities and ideas circulated.”¹² For British publishers like Unwin, the issue was how to stay ahead in an increasingly competitive global marketplace for English-language books.

The global trade in Anglophone literature at this time was dominated and fought over by British and American publishers. Due to their proximity, American publishing houses dominated the trade in imported books into Canada and the West Indies. This meant that the “Empire markets,” so-called, were of crucial importance to British publishing houses, both in terms of trade access and distribution and in the publication rights granted in author’s contracts.¹³ It is well known that the expansion of the international book trade in the late nineteenth-century went hand-in-hand with developments in global communications technologies and transportation, together with the unilateral trade policies of imperial expansion.¹⁴ But it is less often remembered that the British Empire was at its geographical height in the period 1900–40 and especially the years between the two World Wars. At the turn of the twentieth century, the British Empire covered one fifth of the inhabited world and its imperial influence expanded after the First World War into the Middle East, Africa and Melanesia.¹⁵ This gave British publishers important trade access to the huge Anglophone reading and book-buying markets of Australia and New Zealand, India and Canada, as well as many other territories and “Dominions.” Books were shipped by steamship and rail, with overland telegraphs, submarine cables and wireless stations ensuring that advance marketing and publicity (as in the case of Bridge’s *Enchanter’s Nightshade*) could pay dividends to a book’s initial subscription orders.¹⁶

The UK booktrade was keen to preserve a monopoly of trade in its colonies and Dominions and safeguarding British publishers’ access to and control over the Empire markets constituted a substantial part of the day-to-day work of the publishers’ trade body. Records pertaining to the Publishers’ Association of Great Britain & Ireland show that publishers were constantly warding off incursions “to British Empire rights” from American publishers issuing re-print

12 Alison Rukavina, *The Development of the International Book Trade, 1870–1895: Tangled Networks* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), pp. 9–10.

13 MS 2444 (see above, n. 2), CW 55/4. Publishers’ Association of Great Britain & Ireland, Group 11 (Fiction). Minutes, 12 December 1934. Publishers at this time would normally buy the book rights for “England, its Colonies and Dependencies,” leaving authors free to negotiate separately the dramatic, cinematic, translation, and US rights.

14 For an excellent summary see Rukavina (see above, n. 12), pp. 4–5.

15 Richard Begam and Michael Valdez Moses, eds., *Modernism and Colonialism. British and Irish Literature, 1899–1939* (Durham, N.C.: Duke UP, 2007), p. 2.

16 The trans-Pacific cable was laid in 1902, joining Western Canada to Queensland and New Zealand.

editions in colonial markets or “selling the Australasian publishing rights direct to Australian publishers” (bypassing London), not to mention threats of piracy and the infringement of copyright.¹⁷ At one single meeting of the fiction division of The Publishers’ Association on 12 December 1934 for instance, approximately one third of the total business was devoted to attempts to regulate the colonial marketplace. Items for debate concerned preserving British publishers’ control of the Australian marketplace (members were advised “not to undertake the British publication of any book of American origin, if the Australian market is excluded”); attempts to prevent the publication of complete book length novels as supplements to magazines (as was happening in the case of *Australian Women’s Weekly*); shared agreements on the price of colonial fiction; and a note to encourage all publishers “to endeavour to make arrangements to deliver books, particularly colonial editions, to exporters early in the week, if possible by not later than Wednesday,” so as to prevent one exporter from taking competitive advantage over another.¹⁸ The list of items indicates how precarious were the efforts of British publishers to maintain a trade dominance in the “Empire markets.”

The colonial booktrade from London operated through a complex distribution network of publishers and publishers’ agents, colonial booksellers, libraries and wholesalers, as well as export booksellers, general exporters and shipping companies. Some colonial bookshops had direct accounts with British publishing houses, for which they needed a reference to open (one of the perks for colonial booksellers in buying imported books was the unusually long six month period of credit they had to pay the publisher back) but smaller bookshops were often advised to obtain books direct from a larger bookseller in the area who acted as a wholesaler for the publisher in that region. Many large book wholesalers, such as Australia’s Gordon and Gotch Ltd, were involved in related trades including the distribution of stationery and fancy goods, print machinery, magazines, periodicals and newspapers. Imported books were profitable commodities to such wholesalers, particularly when they could place large “marketing” orders with a publisher, through which they had exclusive sale of a particular title in that country and were enabled to receive hugely competitive discounts.¹⁹ In May 1938, Chatto’s Harold Raymond wrote to George

17 MS 2444 (see above, n. 2), CW 55/4. Publishers’ Association of Great Britain & Ireland, Group II (Fiction). Minutes, 12 December 1934.

18 Ibid.

19 See Denis Cryle, ‘Gordon and Gotch from the 1940s to the Present: Regional Distribution and Integration in Australia, New Zealand and Papua New Guinea,’ in Paul Eggert and Elizabeth Webby, eds., *Books and Empire: Textual Production, Distribution, and Consumption in Colonial and Postcolonial Cultures* (Wagga Wagga, NSW: Bibliographical Society of Australia and New Zealand, 2004), pp. 17–26 (pp. 19–20).

Hicks in Wellington regarding the increased activity of the rival firm of Whitcombe & Tombs concerning the “sale of markets” in New Zealand.²⁰ Where they bought the market of a 7/6d. novel, Raymond noted, Whitcombe & Tombs’s price was 2/9d. After making the payments due to their representatives, town traveller, and author royalties, this left Chatto “with very little more than 2/- out of which to manufacture the book and take our profit.”²¹ “Obviously it would not pay us to offer them our best sellers like ‘Enchanter’s Nightshade,’” Raymond continued, “of which they bought over 400 copies on subscription at the usual 3/3d.; on the other hand, if the granting of the New Zealand market has no attendant disadvantages, the purchase of even 100 or 150 copies of a novel . . . by a moderate seller is decidedly attractive, even at 2/9d.”²²

With other large marketing orders the sums the publisher received per copy could be even lower. In the 1930s Chatto regularly sold large bulk orders of colonial editions to Musson’s Book Company in Toronto at the discounted price of 2/4d.²³ The Canadian domestic book market was in a double bind in this period, exposed to imports of cheap American editions and often unauthorised reprints, but itself subject to British imperial copyright legislation and protectionist trade policies.²⁴ In September 1930, Leonard Woolf wrote to one of his bestselling authors, Vita Sackville-West, to say that he had agreed to give further discounts to Hogarth’s Canadian representative because of the American’s ability to push prices down and make the price of imported British books into Canada uncompetitive. Again this had wider impact on the relations between British publishers and the diffuse transnational networks of trade:

We have had some rather big orders from Australia and have sold 24,800 [of *The Edwardians*]. . . . Our Canadian agent is rather upset that we have not stood upon our prior rights, but I have told him that that is not possible. We have to give discount . . . already on colonial books and he presses me to give him . . . [more] on *The Edwardians* so that he may undersell Doran. Under the circumstances I have agreed, but it is rather a nuisance as we shall also have to give it for the big Australian orders.²⁵

20 Harold Raymond to George Hicks, 4 May 1938. MS 2444 (see above, n. 2), CW 77/20.

21 Ibid.

22 Ibid.

23 MS 2444 (see above, n. 2), Profit & loss ledger 1927–33, CW B/3/2.

24 See also Catherine Seville, ‘Novelists, Literary Property, and Copyright,’ in *The Oxford History of the Novel in English*, 12 vols. (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2011–), 4: 22–35 (pp. 22–3).

25 Leonard Woolf to Vita Sackville-West, 17 September 1930. Reading, UoR, Records of the Hogarth Press, MS 2750/416. Quoted with permission from The University of Sussex and The Society of Authors as the Literary Representative of the Estate of Leonard Woolf, and Penguin Random House UK.

There was no Net Price Agreement as such to cover the resale of Colonial editions of 7/6d. fiction but the Publishers' Association made continual agreements to re-stipulate minimum terms. In 1934 for instance after reports that "certain publishers were supplying Colonial editions for resale in Australia and New Zealand at 2/6d. or 2/8d.," the Publishers' Association sought general agreement not to supply the overseas trade 7/6d. fiction for resale at less than 3/3d. (with 6/- fiction at 3/-; 3/6d. at 1/9d).²⁶

Colonial Editions and Patterns of Distribution

The colonial book trade had long been an important part of "the book world" for British fiction publishers. In the nineteenth century a number of firms began distinct series, or libraries, targeted at the colonial market after the passing of the British Copyright and Customs Act (1842) which attempted to provide protection for British books against piracy throughout the empire. The most successful of these series belonged to Macmillan who launched their Colonial Library in 1886 (this was renamed the "Macmillans Empire Library" in 1913 and the more politically innocuous "Overseas Library" in 1937), issuing 1,738 titles up until its end in 1960.²⁷ But the trade in English-language books abroad was not limited to particular publishers' series like these. As Unwin noted in *The Truth about Publishing*, "most novels and some other books are issued in colonial editions."²⁸ A ubiquitous, though regularly overlooked part of the twentieth-century book trade, colonial editions formed part of the publisher's ordinary first edition. Long surrounded in "bibliographical inexactitudes," colonial editions were cheaper versions of a book title, printed on thinner paper and produced from the same typeset as the "English" or Home edition.²⁹ They are identified in publisher's records through the booktrade's abbreviation of "c.c." (colonial cloth), a less substantial cloth binding than that used for the home edition. Similar in premise to the Tauchnitz editions of

26 MS 2444 (see above, n. 2), CW 55/4. Publishers' Association of Great Britain & Ireland, Group II (Fiction). Minutes, 18 July 1934.

27 For recent work on the Macmillan Colonial Library see Robert Fraser, 'Leonard Bast's Library: Aspiration, Emulation and the Imperial National Tradition,' in John Spiers, ed., *The Culture of the Publisher's Series*, 2 vols. (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 2: 117–33; and Shafquat Towheed, 'Negotiating the List: Launching Macmillan's Colonial Library and Author Contracts,' in Spiers, ed., *The Culture of the Publisher's Series*, 2: 134–51.

28 Stanley Unwin, *The Truth about Publishing*, 4th ed. (London: Allen & Unwin, 1946), p. 85.

29 Graeme Johanson, *A Study of Colonial Editions in Australia, 1843–1972* (Wellington, N.Z.: Elibank Press, 2000), p. 14.

British and American authors (1841–1955) that were produced solely for the continental market and not resold in Britain, colonial editions were issued specifically for colonial distribution and were not to be circulated, sold or imported into the British Isles or America. They were marked as Colonial editions on either the title-page or jacket and were distributed throughout the British Empire in large quantities, reaching readers in the major Anglophone book markets of India, Australia, New Zealand, Canada, and South Africa. Over time they gradually became indistinguishable from home editions in appearance, with only stamps on titlepages or jackets to indicate that they were editions for “overseas.” They remained a distinct part of the British book trade until the mid-1960s.³⁰

Colonial editions formed a substantial part of the publisher’s first print run, making up on average between 20% and 30% of the total book production and sales of a typical first edition.³¹ To illustrate this with some examples from the archives of British Publishing and Printing, if we take the sale and distribution of the novels of a popular, bestselling author of the 1930s like Ann Bridge as illustration, we see a consistent proportion of between one fifth and a quarter of the total copies of her first print runs being shipped out to the colonies. The figures in Chatto & Windus’s Profit & Loss account for Bridge’s first novel, *Peking Picnic* (1932) – an exciting tale of diplomatic high life, politics and expat-society in China – are indicated in Table 2.1:

TABLE 2.1 *Sale and distribution figures for Ann Bridge, Peking Picnic, by 24 October 1933*³²

Number of copies printed (14,000 total)	Income received (£, shillings, pence)	Distribution
116 free		Review copies
5,191 sold @ 4/9d.	£1232/17/13	Home sales to wholesale booksellers and libraries
2,595 sold @ 5/-	£648/15/-	Home sales to retail booksellers
3,208 col. @ 3/3d.	£521/6/-	Colonial editions
140 bound on hand		Books bound, remaining at the publishers
2,750 quires on hand		Paper sheets (books without binding), remaining at the publishers

PUBLISHED 15 SEPTEMBER 1932 AT 7/6D., CR 8VO. 336 PP.

30 Ibid., p. 51.

31 Drawing on Unwin’s figures in *The Truth about Publishing*, Johanson puts this slightly higher at between 27% and 33%. Johanson, *Colonial Editions* (see above, n. 29), pp. 83–4.

32 MS 2444 (see above, n. 2), Profit & loss ledger 1927–33, CW B/3/2, f. 515–6.

Six editions of *Peking Picnic* were published during its first year in print (four editions of 2,000 copies; two editions of 3,000 copies), with the total number of 14,000 copies printed representing a large print run for a new, unknown author (2,000 to 3,000 copies was more typical in such a case). The book's status as a bestseller was boosted by success in the American market, where it was published prior to the British edition and named winner of the Atlantic Monthly, a recently inaugurated biennial prize for fiction.³³ The geographical distribution of the first British print run was however typical of other novels of the time. Over two thirds of the 10,994 copies sold went to the home markets of commercial circulating libraries, public libraries, book clubs and bookshops (a total of 7,786: 71%), and just under one third of the copies sold in the first year (3,208 copies: 29%) (roughly half the amount of the home edition) were destined for the colonies.³⁴

This distributive spread remained similar for Bridge's subsequent works published by Chatto & Windus in the 1930s. In the case of *The Ginger Griffin* (1934), a Book Society "Choice" for June 1934, 44% (8,333) of the first edition copies sold in its first three months went to libraries and bookshops in the UK, 22% (4,272 copies) were sold as colonial editions.³⁵ For her next bestseller, *Illyrian Spring* (1935) – a novel set in Dalmatia which apparently did much to boost tourism to the Adriatic – and again a Book Society "Choice," 16,121 copies went to the home markets (61% of copies sold in the first seven months) and 4,861 (18%) were sold as colonial cloth.³⁶ Here also we find a separate ledger entry referring to the stock purchased by Gordon & Gotch, a major Australian book distributor. Placing a large "marketing" order for *Illyrian Spring*, Gordon & Gotch purchased 1,561 colonial editions for the Australian market from Chatto at 3/-, undercutting the regular colonial cloth sales of the novel at 3/3d. Sales of *Enchanter's Nightshade* were – as expected if we recall the telegram with which this chapter opened – predictably large. As Table 2.2 shows, in under eighteen months, 12,390 copies of the book (49% of sales) had been sold to libraries and bookshops in the UK, with the initial order from the Book Society adding up to just over 7,100 copies. 6,019 copies (24% of sales) – again roughly half the amount of the "home" edition – were distributed in the

33 Bridge, *Fact and Fictions* (see above, n. 3), pp. 37–9.

34 These figures referring to Bridge, and those which follow, are calculated on total number of copies sold (rather than printed), discounting review copies and "on hand" stock.

35 MS 2444 (see above, n. 2), Profit & loss ledger 1933–1945, CW B/3/3, f. 101–2.

36 Ibid., f. 237–8. See Bridge, *Facts and Fictions* (see above, n. 3), p. 45.

colonies. Whitcombe & Tombs of New Zealand which, according to Unwin, “dominated” New Zealand trade “with branches almost everywhere except on the west coast of the South Island,” bought over 400 copies on subscription at the usual colonial rate of 3/3d.³⁷ Again Gordon & Gotch placed a large “marketing” order for 1,128 colonial editions at 3/- for wholesale distribution in the Australian marketplace.

This proportion of between one fifth and a quarter of a title's first print run bound for the colonial marketplace seems fairly standard for new works of fiction in this period, though of course there were many variations. Of Aldous Huxley's *Brave New World*, which Chatto published in 1932, only ten percent (2,149 copies) of the first print run of the 7/6d. edition (a total of 20,700 copies) were sold as colonial editions at 3/3d., but this becomes slightly larger (13%)

TABLE 2.2 *Sale and distribution figures for Ann Bridge, Enchanter's Nightshade, by 31 March 1939*³⁸

Number of copies printed (30,100 total)	Income received (£, shillings, pence)	Distribution
150 free		Review copies
4,130 sold @ 4/9d.	£980/17/6	Home sales to wholesale booksellers and libraries
8,260 sold @ 5/-	£2065/-/-	Home sales to retail booksellers
4,891 col. @ 3/3d.	£794/15/9	Colonial editions
1,128 Gordon Gotch @ 3/-	£169/4/-	Colonial editions, “marketing” order to Australia
7,104 Book Soc. @ 3/4½	£1198/16/-	Book Society Ltd.
337 bound on hand		Books bound, remaining at the publishers
4,100 quires on hand		Paper sheets (books without binding), remaining at the publishers

PUBLISHED 1 NOVEMBER 1937 AT 7/6D., CR 8VO. 408 PP.

37 Stanley Unwin, ‘British Books Overseas,’ in John Hampden, ed., *The Book World Today: A New Survey of the Making and Distribution of Books in Britain* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1957), pp. 212–23 (p. 217).

38 Profit & loss (see above, n. 35), f. 423–4.

when the 520 copies sold directly to Musson's Book Company for wholesale in Canada (at the larger discounted price of 2/8d.) are factored in.³⁹ The much lower proportion of copies going to the colonial marketplace here is explained by the bans on *Brave New World* in various parts of the world. Letters in the Chatto archive to Hicks, Smith & Wright from 1937, for instance, note the publisher's relief that recent book bans in Australia have been lifted: "Hats off to Australia . . . We shall next hear of you prescribing *Ulysses* as a primer for elementary schools. The orders for *Brave New World* have been very welcome indeed" writes Harold Raymond to Joseph Hicks in April of that year.⁴⁰ Other Chatto authors, at least if we take the initial distribution of first edition sales as evidence (there is of course the wider book market of borrowing, second-hand sales and exchange which muddies this picture) remained less popular in the colonies. The novels of Sylvia Townsend Warner for instance consistently failed to pick up in the colonial marketplace, with the colonial edition sales of her early novels averaging out at around ten percent of her total print run.⁴¹

The colonial marketplace was not only important to large, well-established British publishing firms like Chatto & Windus, Bentley, and Macmillan. Colonial editions also made up a substantial proportion of the business of smaller publishing houses, including publishers closely associated with modernism like Leonard and Virginia Woolf's The Hogarth Press (established 1917). Recent work in modernist studies has explored how "modernist literary practice might be related, both formally and thematically, to the experience of empire."⁴² According to this view, the aesthetic innovations and formal experimentations of literary modernism are deeply related to writers' ambivalence towards colonialism. But it is less often acknowledged that modernist literary practice was also deeply related materially and economically to Empire through the sale and distribution of books and magazines. New titles published by the Hogarth Press for instance were widely sold and distributed throughout the "Empire markets." A series of Order Books in the Hogarth Press archive which contain detailed information as to the customers and orders of Hogarth Press titles enable us to appreciate the significance of the colonial marketplace to the Woolfs, where again as a proportion of the sale and distribution of the first print run, editions for the colonies generally made up around twenty percent of a title's sales.⁴³

39 Profit & loss (see above, n. 23), f. 443-4.

40 Harold Raymond to Joseph Hicks, 14 April 1937 (see above, n. 2).

41 Profit & loss (see above, n. 23 and 35).

42 Begam and Valdez Moses, eds., *Modernism and Colonialism* (see above, n. 15), p. 1.

43 MS 2750 (see above, n. 25)/A/16-31. The analysis in this section has benefited from the painstaking transcription work of Dale Hall, Andrew Reay and Sophie McKenna. We

Key booksellers, wholesalers and distributors in the colonial marketplace emerge from these detailed records which give us a rich sense of the geographical distribution and spread of the first editions of Hogarth Press titles over a period of time. To take *The Years* (1937), one of Virginia Woolf's bestsellers, as an example: here we have sales and distribution figures for the 8/6d. edition (sold in colonial cloth to the retailer at 4/3d.) for the period from early March 1937 to the 3 January 1944 (over 2,000 records of sale).⁴⁴ Books for colonial and overseas customers were packaged up and dispatched first (the majority on 3 March), two weeks before the publication date of 15 March. A sample of the names of some of these customers reveals a tantalising glimpse into a network of colonial exchange and circulation that deserves much further study: Argus South African, Burma Book Club, New South Wales Bookstore, Dartar Brothers (Cape Town), Taraporevala, Anglo-Egyptian bookshop. Up until May 1943, when the last order for a colonial edition came in, key buyers from the colonies in terms of scale and repeat orders included Australia's Angus & Robertson and Gordon & Gotch (who took an initial subscription order of 116 copies); the Oxford Bookstore & Stationery company (an Indian book-store chain with outlets in Calcutta, Delhi, Lahore, Meerut); and Whitcombe & Tombs in New Zealand.

We must beware of moving too quickly from evidence of sales and distribution to the colonies to discussions of readership or reading experience, from what Priya Joshi reminds us is evidence of *production* in the textual archive and not *consumption* or "actual readers."⁴⁵ More needs to be done to look at the patrons of Dartar Brothers in Cape Town, or of the New South Wales Bookstall, or India's Oxford Bookstore & Stationery Company, to begin to understand how Woolf's books were read and received in these different colonial markets and by different individuals and groups of readers. Such work would also have to take account of the cheap editions market and the ways in which texts circulate and are re-circulated within any given community, including informal methods of borrowing and loans from individuals, libraries and clubs. But the evidence contained in the Hogarth Press Order Books marks a start in researching Woolf's colonial readers and readership, complementing and adding to recent work on her reception in

would like to acknowledge the University of Reading's assistance in financing their Undergraduate Research Opportunities Projects.

44 MS 2750 (see above, n. 25)/A/27. Order Book: Novels Sackville-West & Woolf.

45 Priya Joshi, 'Culture and Consumption: Fiction, the Reading Public and the British Novel in Colonial India,' *Book History* 1.1 (1998), 196–220, there 197.

Europe, and reminding us of the much wider global networks in which Hogarth Press titles, like the works of other contemporary publishers, were circulated.⁴⁶

British Distributors Abroad

How should we account for reading patterns as evidenced in the sale of colonial cloth editions? Recent research by Robert Fraser on the titles in Macmillan's Colonial Library has found a "staple diet of middle-brow contemporary novels produced by and large in the form of cheap reprints of Macmillan's domestic fiction list."⁴⁷ Priya Joshi and Graeme Johanson's landmark studies of popular authors and reading patterns in colonial India and late nineteenth and early twentieth-century Australia respectively have made comparable discoveries. Drawing upon a variety of library catalogues and statistics on borrowing from Indian public libraries from the mid to late nineteenth-century, Joshi identifies G.W.M. Reynolds as "the most persistently popular of these novelists in India" (others included Sir Walter Scott, Edward Bulwer-Lytton, Marie Corelli, Francis Marion Crawford) because of the symbolic affinities that Indian readers' found with the genres of melodrama and romance.⁴⁸ Graeme Johanson points to best-selling authors in Australia – Guy Newell Boothby, Edward Phillips Oppenheim and Francis Marion Crawford – arguing that they "used repetition of time-honoured themes – not to mention stereotyped titles – about power-play, crime, human foibles, money, picaresque excitement, and romance, thus promising wide appeal."⁴⁹ Joshi and Johanson are concerned with Indian and Australian readers respectively, and Joshi's work in particular has been celebrated for its stress on consumption rather than my emphasis on production and distribution here. But what is striking to her analysis of "how literate Indians addressed, absorbed, consumed, and otherwise responded to the world of textuality and print that originated in and arrived from Britain," are the some of the apparent similarities between the tastes of readers in the colonies and what British publishers would often describe as the typical library

46 See for instance Mary Ann Caws and Nicola Luckhurst, *The Reception of Virginia Woolf in Europe* (London: Bloomsbury, 2008); and Helen Southworth and Claire Battershill, 'The Hogarth Press in a Global Context,' in Jessica Berman, ed., *Blackwell Companion to Virginia Woolf* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2016).

47 Fraser, 'Leonard Bast's Library' (see above, n. 27), p. 124.

48 Joshi, *In Another Country* (see above, n. 8), pp. 74, 83–92.

49 Johanson, *Colonial Editions* (see above, n. 29), p. 40.

reader at home.⁵⁰ It is no coincidence that these popular authors, many of whom are no longer widely known, were also widely read by British readers in the “home” market and avidly consumed in public and circulating libraries of the time.⁵¹

The connections between popular authors in the colonies and popular reading tastes at home brings me to another aspect of the colonial book trade. While, as I have said, many colonial bookshops (both large and small) had direct accounts with British publishing houses, another aspect of the trade that we find evidence of in the publisher’s archive is the British distributors and libraries who operated across the “Empire markets.” This includes large global distributors like Dawson and Simpkin Marshall who had major export and overseas departments, as well as circulating libraries, bookshops and book clubs based in the UK who supplied books to readers and members based overseas. The Hogarth Press Order Books, for instance, show that the major British circulating libraries of the period – W.H. Smith, Boots Book-lovers’ Library, Mudie’s Select Circulating Library, Harrods and the *Times* Book Club – were all significant purchasers of books in colonial cloth. These libraries, all of which cultivated an atmosphere of distinction, operated upon a subscription basis and were keen to deliver good customer service. As the *Times* Book Club explained to Macmillan in 1932 “with regret that you find yourselves unable to supply further copies of *The Fountain* [by Charles Morgan] in a colonial edition,” “we require this book mainly for Clubs, Libraries and individual customers who place standing orders with us for regular supplies of the latest books. . . . Many of our clients find it convenient to purchase their books through us because they are stationed in remote places where they cannot obtain local supplies.”⁵²

Providing orders to these suppliers at the more favourable colonial terms proved a continual headache for British publishers. There was much debate over what constituted legitimate colonial trade amongst the members of the Publishers’ Association in this period, and classified lists of exporters entitled to wholesale terms were regularly revised. In confidential discussions for new price schemes of colonial fiction in 1934, the Publishers’ Association agreed

50 Joshi, p. xvii.

51 See Mary Hammond, “‘The Great Fiction Bore’: Free Libraries and the Construction of a Reading Public in England, 1880–1914,” *Libraries & Culture* 37.2 (2002), 83–108; and Nicola Wilson, ‘Libraries, Reading Patterns and Censorship,’ in *The Oxford History of the Novel in English*, 12 vols. (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2011–), 4: 36–51.

52 *Times* Book Club to Macmillan, 17 February 1932. Reading, UoR, Macmillan archive, MS 1089, 124/135.

that English booksellers and wholesalers should not buy colonial fiction at less than 3/3d., and that a few select libraries and retailers, "in addition to recognised exporters should be regarded as entitled to be supplied with Colonial editions without question."⁵³ This included Mudie's Library, Simpkin Marshall (Export and overseas departments), W.H. Smith, and the *Times* Book Club. Steamship companies could be supplied with colonial editions "on condition that such Colonial Editions are only for use or sale outside this country."⁵⁴ Due to the huge scale of their orders (running into several thousands for a monthly "Choice") and the large discounts they already received from the publishers, the position of the Book Society Ltd was more complex. A note added, "the Book Society, Ltd., may be supplied with Colonial editions of books other than 'chosen' books, but at not less than 3/9, and only providing the country of destination is given when requested."⁵⁵

The production of colonial editions lasted until the 1960s and early '70s, and British cartelisation of the book trade in the former colonies went well beyond the historical period of Empire. In 1947, publishers adopted the British Traditional Market Agreement which attempted to reassert British distribution rights in the "Commonwealth and Empire as politically constituted" after the incursions of American publishers into these markets during the Second World War.⁵⁶ This, as Graeme Johanson points out, was an instrument of *de facto* colonialism which "lasted until 1976, well beyond the collapse of the political Empire" and had huge implications on local and indigenous publishing scenes.⁵⁷ With the Traditional Market Agreement in place, British publishers were able to devote more systematic attention to the scale and reach of export operations. As Unwin notes in Hampden's second edited compendium, "far more attention is given to export trade than was the case when *The Book World* was published in 1935. Since 1947 the Publishers Association has had an Export Research Department doing invaluable work. Every market is carefully studied.

53 MS 2444 (see above, n. 2), CW 55/1. Publishers' Association of Great Britain & Ireland, Group II (Fiction). Colonial Fiction. New Prices. Revised and corrected June 1934, p. 2.

54 Publishers' Association of Great Britain & Ireland, Group II (Fiction). Minutes, 20 May 1931 (see above, n. 53).

55 Publishers' Association of Great Britain & Ireland, Group II (Fiction). Colonial Fiction. New Prices (see above, n. 53).

56 Johanson, *Colonial Editions* (see above, n. 29), p. 22.

57 Ibid., p. 23. See also James McCall, 'Books and the Nation: Aspects of Publishing and National Identity,' in Paul Eggert and Elizabeth Webby, eds., *Books and Empire: Textual Production, Distribution, and Consumption in Colonial and Postcolonial Cultures* (Wagga Wagga, NSW: Bibliographical Society of Australia and New Zealand, 2004), pp. 142–7.

Obstacles to the free flow of books are carefully charted.”⁵⁸ An interesting table in the appendix lists the approximate value of book trade exports to different countries. For the figures available in 1954–5, Australia boasts by far the largest turnover for the sale of imported British books; America, South Africa and India are the next largest markets in descending order of profit.⁵⁹ Large sales of new paperback series like the much-respected Penguins continued to boost the sale and distribution of British books around the world. As Unwin admitted, “Since many low-priced textbooks and paper-covered books are included, and many dearer books have to be sold at special discounts, it is possible that half the books printed in Britain today are sold overseas.”⁶⁰

This chapter has attempted to offer a nuanced understanding of the trade in colonial editions in the first half of the twentieth century, one that goes beyond the one-way traffic of Unwin’s “export” model to recognise the disruptions and multivalences inherent in transnational networks of colonial traffic and exchange. Representing a significant market share to the print runs of new works of fiction published in this period, colonial wholesalers, distributors and, by implication, their audiences, yielded a certain amount of leverage in British publishing houses, continually pushing prices down on the one hand, and able to influence trade on the other side of the world with the other. The implications of this large global readership in the minds of authors goes beyond my scope here, as does a more detailed examination of the reception of colonial editions in the markets, bookshops and reading groups where they were clearly sought out. Nevertheless this chapter hopes to have indicated some avenues for further research and to have made clear the important role played by colonial editions and trade in the shaping of literary history and print culture in its broad transnational past.

Acknowledgements

With thanks to the estate of Ann Bridge and Peters, Fraser and Dunlop for permission to access material relating to Bridge in the archives of British Publishing and Printing at the University of Reading. Quotes and information from the Chatto & Windus archive are from The Penguin Random House Group Archive and Library of the University of Reading and reproduced with thanks to Penguin Random House UK.

58 Unwin, ‘British Books Overseas’ (see above, n. 37), p. 222.

59 John Hampden, ed., *The Book World Today: A New Survey of the Making and Distribution of Books in Britain* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1957), Appendix, p. 233.

60 Unwin, ‘British Books Overseas’ (see above, n. 36), p. 223.

A Trade in Desires: Emigration, A.C. Gunter and the Home Publishing Company

Simon Frost

It is sometimes tempting to oppose literary success with commercially successful literature and, along with (mis)readings of Bourdieu, to assume that art is a pure inversion of economics. In this view, literary aesthetic quality is inversely proportional to commercial interest. There may be attempts to fine-tune such a view, and to re-think all literary production as swayed to some extent by market demand, wherein our real task is to determine whether the author's compliance has been detrimental to her art or beneficial. Nevertheless, even the refined view retains the primacy of aesthetic discourse through which to estimate literary value.

Alternatively, if we pursue literature into wider social and cultural realms, we find new roles for the material book, besides that of meeting literary aesthetic criteria. What seems required is a new model for comparative theory in which commercial intention and authorial intention, self-interest and disinterest are no longer thought of as binaries. Such a model is enabled by taking the material book as the object of study rather than the disembodied text. In this manner, focus can be placed not only on the behavioural specifics of end-use that includes reading (as the international Reading Experience Databases so successfully do) but also on patterns of use, accessible in a modest way through some of the terminology of economics. When used in addition to a discourse of literary aesthetics, the language of consumption changes the discursive context and thus our understanding of what books are, namely objects that enable a trade in desires.

At some points in history, commercial markets are saturated with the most profound cultural potential, and works that operate successfully in those markets are important social objects. The mass emigration at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth created such an occasion and such a market. When that market collapsed, it took with it one of its most successful and almost entirely neglected producers of fiction, Archibald Claverling Gunter (1847–1907). The *doyen* of émigré reading, Gunter was proprietor of his own Home Publishing Company and of *Gunter's Magazine*. He was the author of purportedly thirty nine bestselling novels, published in English, and in multiple translations among countries where emigration was profuse.

While far from great literature, Gunter's writings represent an important form for émigré readers and, as this chapter will demonstrate, a case study from which to induce a new model. The three sections that follow – on emigration, on onboard reading and on A.C. Gunter – will be concluded with a tentative suggestion as to how a paradigmatic shift in comparative literature might begin.

Emigration

Between 1800 and 1900, the population of Europe more than doubled from around 188 to 438 million people. During this period more than sixty million people left Europe from regions where too little land, agricultural rationalisation, and cheap factory-made goods left their futures unsustainable.¹ The majority of that emigration took place in the latter half of the nineteenth century and into the twentieth, with more than forty million people emigrating from Europe to the New World between 1850 and 1913.² They migrated not only to the US and Australasia, but to Canada, Central America, South America (Brazil and Argentina), to sub-Saharan Africa, and, not so widely known, to Siberia (while many European Russians emigrated to the US, almost six million people moved to Siberia between 1890 and 1914).³

Europeans left behind countries with abundant labour and low living standards. In the countries they entered labour was scarce and living standards high.⁴ They settled vast and thinly-populated territories and their technologies enabled them to export goods back to Europe, necessitating more rail, harbours, infrastructure, and therefore the demand for more immigration. Transoceanic telegraph cables speeded financial communications and linked commodity prices in a much more rapid global network. The components necessary for setting up a large heterogeneous market, and especially a large readers' market, moved steadily into place.

1 John P. McKay et al., *A History of World Societies*, 8th ed. (Boston, Mass: Bedford/St. Martins, 2009), pp. 715–22 (p. 718).

2 Timothy Hatton and Jeffrey Williamson, 'What Drove the Mass Migrations from Europe in the late Nineteenth Century?', *Population and Development Review* 20.3 (1994), 533–59, there 533.

3 An estimated seven million people arrived in Siberia between 1801 and 1914, 84% of which settled between 1887 and 1913. See Donald W. Treadgold, *The Great Siberian Migration: Government and Peasant in Resettlement from Emancipation to the First World War* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1957), pp. 13–35. See also Raymond H. Fisher, 'Review,' *The American Historical Review* 63.4 (1958), pp. 989–90.

4 Hatton, 'What Drove the Mass Migrations' (see above, n. 2), there 533.

Earlier in the century, the émigrés travelling on wooden sailing ships were treated more-or-less as cargo. The risk of disease was high and the journey's duration unpredictable. Conditions were extremely tough for passengers "between decks" and occasionally violent (and this says nothing of the conditions for coerced migration, during which many never survived). One Elder Lijjenquist onboard the *Athena*, which set sail under a German flag on 21 April 1862, was threatened with irons and handcuffs for complaining about the food and water, and subsequently told he would be tossed overboard.⁵

Gradually, the wooden sailing ships of the early part of the century were replaced by sail-and-steam ships such as Brunel's *Great Western* (1837), then by heavy iron ships, such as the *Great Britain* (built 1839–43), and subsequently by lighter, stronger, and cheaper ships made of steel.⁶ Transport charges tumbled and the oceans began to shrink. In 1840, the *Great Western* could cross the Atlantic eastward in fourteen days; in 1888, Cunard's steel-hulled *Etruria* did it in six.

With steam-driven trans-oceanic transport, the passenger became an important commercial asset and accommodation a marketable commodity, thus providing grounds for a new purpose-built trans-oceanic service.⁷ And when the émigré-passenger market underwent a dramatic shift downwards over the last third of the nineteenth century, that market was captured by purpose-built liners for companies such as Cunard, White Star, Allan Line, Orient-Pacific, the Inman Line, the Hamburg-America Line, the Hamburg-South America Line ("Dampfschiffahrts-Gesellschaft"), Denmark's Thingvala, the Scandinavian-America line, and the ocean greyhounds of the Guion Line, whose core business was the steerage trade. Previously, passenger numbers had been relatively small: the *Great Western* in 1837 carried 148 passengers; the *Great Britain* in 1843 merely 252.⁸ Fare price was relatively expensive: the *Great Western* carried only first class passengers and its initial Bristol to New York fare was a mighty 35 guineas (children half price). By the century's last decades, ocean-liner passenger capacity not only quadrupled, but berths for third-class and steerage passengers became available and affordable. Transatlantic third

5 See Conway B. Sonne, *Saints on the Seas: a Maritime History of Mormon Migration, 1830–1890* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1983), pp. 64–6.

6 McKay, *History of World Societies* (see above, n. 1), p. 718.

7 Basil Greenhill and Ann Giffard, *Travel by Sea in the Nineteenth Century: interior design in Victorian passenger ships* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1972), p. 41.

8 'S.S. GREAT BRITAIN: An International Historic Engineering Landmark, 1843, Bristol, England: 25th September 1984,' catalogue (New York: The American Society of Mechanical Engineers, United Engineering Centre). See also Basil Greenhill and Ann Giffard, *Women under Sail: Letters and Journals Concerning Eight Women Travelling or Working in Sailing Vessels between 1829 and 1949* (Newton Abbot: David and Charles, 1970), p. 122.

class and steerage rates could be anything from six pounds to even three pounds. Various Passenger Acts from several nations, too, helped by guaranteeing hygiene, food quality and space for lower-rate passengers. Of steerage conditions on the White Star Line, Henry Fry, in his history of the North Atlantic passage from 1896, describes separate dormitories, electric lighting, baths with hot and cold water, family rooms, ventilation, a liberal diet and luxuries far beyond the mere bread and water supplied on the old sailing ships.⁹ These were the modern liners Joyce had in mind when portraying dreams of emigration in *Dubliners* (1914), the wondrous Allan Line boats that Frank worked on and the boat to Buenos Ayres that Eveline should but could not board to escape with him in "Eveline."

The improvements and downward market pressure dramatically increased passenger volume. Calculating from figures published by Fry, the combined North Atlantic ferries had a capacity of around 110,000 passengers. Assuming a meagre eight trips *per annum*, this fleet could in principle move just under one million passengers each year. Ships such as the *Saale* or the *Werra* of North German Lloyd typically had capacity for 150 first class, 100 second and 1,000 steerage passengers, but some ships of the Hamburg line could accommodate 2,500 at steerage. Of the North Atlantic ferries' total capacity, approximately 79 per cent, or 87,000 passengers were steerage class. Measured in passenger numbers, the North Atlantic liners were in the business of steerage.¹⁰

The traffic however was not simply one way. Emigrants did return, and in large numbers, creating something of an information field and a network of nodes in an emerging market.¹¹ Rates of emigration return and the implications that can be drawn from it are hotly debated among historians of migration, but one important parameter within the debate is the idea of "chain migration." This is an information-based hypothesis that relates the movement of particular emigrants to the earlier movement of pioneers and how information is conveyed in networks between New and Old World communities. The communication between those arrived and those soon-to-depart was mainly by letter but other artefacts of print culture cannot be excluded. The links thus

9 Henry Fry, *The History of North Atlantic Steam Navigation: with some accounts of early ships and ship owners* (London: Sampson Low, Marston and Co., 1896), pp. 94–7, 176–7.

10 North Atlantic ferries' total capacity: approx. 16,000 first class, 7,000 second class and 87,000 steerage, which equals 15%, 6% and 79% respectively. Estimate derived from 'Appendix no.7' in Fry, *The History of North Atlantic Steam Navigation* (see above, n. 9), pp. 302–5.

11 See for example Dudley Baines, 'European Emigration, 1815–1930: Looking at the Emigration Decision Again,' *The Economic History Review* 47.3 (1994), pp. 525–44, there 530–2, 535.

set up, whether by people or print, create in effect a transatlantic “collective.”¹² As the oft-cited quote has it, “Europeans were the first to transform the Atlantic Ocean from a great and seemingly impassable barrier into a highway of trade and communication.”¹³ The circulation of any literatures that were shared on both sides of the Atlantic therefore form part of a common currency.

One way to examine literary cultural production circulating in this heterogeneous émigré collective is for the way it defies the logic of transmission that sees production rippling outward from metropolitan centres, or as the result of a simple two-way process between centre and periphery (as in the original *Book World* of 1935), and instead to look for complex multi-layered exchanges between communicating hubs. This is the aim of Daniel Maudlin and Robin Peel’s edited anthology, *The Materials of Exchange between Britain and North East America, 1750–1900* (2013), and the aim of new transatlantic studies more generally. Another allied approach, however, is to find out what happens if we accept that the value of any noticeable item within this circulation, such as the novels of A.C. Gunter, are derived not from that item’s literary significance nor how it performs when subject to aesthetic judgement, but located in its utility (to use a term from economics) for a wide variety of émigrés around 1900, spread throughout various regions within Europe.

Onboard Reading

So what were those several million émigrés reading? – and not only the émigrés underway, or those already arrived, but those about to travel, those thinking of crossing central Europe to one of its ports such as Hamburg, to where many hundreds of thousands were first smuggled across the Prussian border (risking theft, sickness and quarantine while waiting for passage as well as potential deportation back to Europe once they reached their destination). What kinds of literature encouraged them to take those risks and what sustained them on their journeys? One place to begin might be the subject of onboard reading.

Aristophanes’ comedy *Frogs* (405 BC) had Dionysus reading Euripides’s *Andromeda* onboard ship. However, a book onboard or a few volumes left on

12 The term “collective” refers to Bruno Latour’s work on critical sociology and to Actor-Network-Theory (ANT). See Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the Social: an Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2007), p. 14.

13 Thomas Benjamin, ‘Introduction,’ in *The Atlantic Word: Europeans, Africans, Indians and Their Shared History* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2009), p. 20; cited in Daniel Maudlin and Robin Peel, *The Materials of Exchange between Britain and North-East America 1750–1900* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2013), p. 6.

the Captain's bookshelf made available to passengers does not constitute a passengers' library. In the earlier nineteenth century, when sail and sail-and-steam vessels conveyed cargo and passengers in aggregate, onboard reading tended to be makeshift. Greenhill and Giffard, in *Women under Sail*, cite women's diary entries at mid-century to show how, for instance, New Zealand-bound emigrants like Jessie Campbell onboard the squared rigged *Blenheim* on 19 August 1840, "Read a good while Wilson's *Tales of the Border*, they are very stupid." She read Fennimore Cooper's *The Water Witch* (1830) on Tuesday 15, which she had got from a Mr Galgarry, and on Friday 27 she read "during the forenoon *Colburn's Magazine* extracts in it from Mrs Trollope's amusing novel the *Widow Married*" (serialised from 1839–40). Such personal records posit onboard reading as haphazard and pragmatic.¹⁴

Bill Bell has revealed a second facet of onboard reading from the earlier nineteenth century, namely prescriptive reading.¹⁵ Various religious and educational groups produced literatures of improvement for would-be émigrés, such as the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge (the SPCK) who produced an Emigrants Tracts series from 1851. One typical instruction was to "Spend the mornings, until dinner time, in reading, writing, and ciphering: in the afternoon collect in groups, and while one reads aloud, let the others work," from which we can infer that such publications were created more to satisfy the needs of producers rather than readers or, as economists would call them, end users.¹⁶ The instructive spirit was evident towards sailors, too; both naval and merchant. John Harris wrote, "Seamen need a good library on board ship. They have intellectual as well as bodily wants. They have not only the bone and sinew of other men, they have also, in proportion to their cultivation, the same intellectual powers and the same capacity of mental elevation and enjoyment."¹⁷ Up to mid-century, some ship's libraries were published. Chambers Instructive and Entertaining Library included, from 1851, *The Emigrant's Manuals* series for America, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa. An 1851 *Chambers*

14 Greenhill and Giffard, *Women under Sail* (see above, n. 8), p. 55, pp. 64–5. See also Greenhill and Giffard, *Travel by Sea* (see above, n. 7).

15 Bill Bell, 'Bound for Australia: Shipboard Reading in the Nineteenth Century,' in Robin Myers and Michael Harris, eds., *Journeys through the Market: Travel, Travellers and the Book Trade* (Folkestone: Oak Knoll Press, 1999), pp. 119–40.

16 Cited in *Ibid.*, p. 123.

17 John Harris, *Britannia; or the moral claims of seamen* (London: n.p., 1837) cited in Harry R. Skallerup, *Books Afloat and Ashore: A history of books, libraries and reading among seamen during the age of sail* (Hamden, Connecticut: Archon Book, 1974), p. 77. For a list of US naval seamen's libraries see appendices in Skallerup, *Books Afloat and Ashore*, pp. 221–46.

Popular Library advertised itself as being “adapted for Private Families, Emigrants, Ships’ Libraries, &c.,” containing two Walter Scott novels, and a mixture of travel, history, and biography (doubtless backlist titles or material out of copyright).¹⁸ But, again, these earlier libraries can be said to be production-oriented, suiting the needs of the publisher, rather than driven by, and occasionally expressly conceived for, the desires of émigré readers themselves. To find out what satisfied the literary needs of the great surge of emigrants in the late nineteenth century, we have to look elsewhere.

Unsurprisingly perhaps, not much work has been done on passenger ship libraries of the later long-nineteenth century. The main sources are Harold Otness’s 1979 article, ‘Passenger Ship Libraries,’ Harry Skallerup’s *Books, Afloat and Ashore* (1974), odd references in maritime histories and Voyagers’ Companions, as well as Arno Mentzel-Reuters article ‘Bücher auf der Nordatlantikroute 1890–1915,’ and Paul van Capelleveen’s essay on ship’s printing presses in the Netherlands.¹⁹ The key text is a 1911 magazine article ‘The Libraries on the Trans-Atlantic Liners,’ in *The Bookman*, by Calvin Winter.²⁰

On the purpose-built liners of the end of the century, first-class and occasionally second-class passengers could make use of a formalised ships’ library; often supervised by a *Bibliothekssteward*. In 1889, the White Star Line’s *Teutonic* had a steward-attended library with stock described as “standard books.”²¹ The Inman’s *City of New York* had a library of 900 volumes. Cunard’s *Campania* and *Lucania* (1892 and 1893) were similarly fitted with libraries. The ship’s libraries of the Hamburg-America and North German Lloyd Line were particularly luxurious, stocking German, French, Spanish and English books (the latter largely in Tauchnitz editions, which were English-language volumes published by the German based firm for sale chiefly in Continental Europe).²² The *Britannic* had

18 Cited in Bell, ‘Bound for Australia,’ (see above, n. 15), p. 121.

19 Harold M. Otness, ‘Passenger Ship Libraries,’ *Journal of Library History* 14.4 (1979), 486–94; Arno Mentzel-Reuters, ‘Bücher auf der Nordatlantikroute 1890–1915,’ *Deutsches Schifffahrtsarchiv* (DSA) 23 (2000), 93–142; Paul van Capelleveen, ‘Stampen, Rollen, Schudden, Zetten: de Nederlandse Scheepsdrukkerij,’ in Marieke van Delft, Marco de Niet and Kees Thomassen, eds., *Bijzonders Divers: Studies over Opmerkelijk Drukwerk uit de Twintigste Eeuw* (Den Haag, Amsterdam: Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 2007), pp. 70–93.

20 Calvin Winter, ‘The Libraries of the Trans-Atlantic Liners,’ *The Bookman: a Review of Books and Life* 33.4 (1911), pp. 368–75.

21 Otness, ‘Passenger Ship Libraries’ (see above, n. 19), 488.

22 Winter, ‘The Libraries of the Trans-Atlantic Liners’ (see above, n. 20), 372. N.G. Lloyd, in 1911, prescribed a ratio of “220 German, 30 French and 60 to 70 English books,” for express steamers sailing to the US. See Mentzel-Reuters, ‘Bücher auf der Nordatlantikroute 1890–1915’ (see above, n. 19), 95.

a shelf of books in its second-class lounge nominally called a library; and, as with the P&O Liners serving Australia and New Zealand, first-class libraries were occasionally opened to second-class readers.²³ Hamburg-America's *Kaiserin Auguste Victoria* and the *Amerika* had first, second and even third-class lending libraries.

Stock could be sourced from commercial lending libraries. When company owned, the volumes might be given the Line's own bookplate, and when owned by the onshore supplier, these library volumes were known as supplements. The Hamburg-America Line employed an agent in New York to buy "a new instalment of the latest popular books," and forward them to Hamburg to be stripped and re-covered in the company's uniform dark cloth.²⁴ The Cunard Line, like other lines, used a system of rotating libraries, transportable from ship to ship. Cunard sourced "a carefully selected *Times* library of 500 volumes changed at the end of each voyage," offering recent works on biography, travel and edifying subjects, which passengers could borrow or purchase.²⁵

By the turn of the century, additional sources of onboard reading appeared. Onboard bookstalls made an appearance, stocking recent books and the latest issues of current magazines. Appearing, too, were ship's newspapers. Although ship's newspapers (often taking the vessel's name for the title as in *The Aconcagua Times* (1879), *The Essex Chronicle* (1864), *The Arawa Gazette* (1885)) had been written before – the National Library of Australia has numerous entries for ship's newspapers written and "published" *en route* – the presence of wireless telegraphy gave a boost to the newsworthiness of this format.

One final source of reading material was the few books that passengers could bring without exceeding luggage restrictions. S.W. Silver and Co.'s Colonial and Indian Pocket Book Series in its *Voyager's Companion* (1879), advised its readers to bring "an easy chair, a railway rug, a bath sponge, a field glass and two or three books."²⁶ It can be assumed that many of these volumes would have circulated.

But what of the titles? Of fiction onboard the *Kaiserin Auguste Victoria*, Winter notes Rudyard Kipling, Conan Doyle, Robert Chambers, and Owen Wister, author of *The Virginian* (1902), supposed progenitor of the cowboy novel and which spawned numerous film versions, including a 1914 version by Cecile B. deMille. Other names include Robert Hichens – who according to

23 Otness, 'Passenger Ship Libraries' (see above, n. 19), 490.

24 Winter, 'The Libraries of the Trans-Atlantic Liners' (see above, n. 20), 371.

25 Ibid., 374.

26 *The Cape, Free State and Diamond Fields*, vol. I [S.W. Silver and Co. *Colonial and Indian Pocket Book Series and Voyagers Companion*] (London: S.W. Silver and Co., 1879), p. 9.

John Sutherland's *Companion to Victorian Fiction* (1989) excelled in bestselling superheated romanticism – as well as Francis Marion Crawford.²⁷ Crawford's *The Novel, What It Is* (1893) states that “[A] novel is a marketable commodity, of the class collectively termed ‘luxuries’” albeit one that fathoms the depth of human passions.²⁸ Onboard the *Cecilia*, in a North German Lloyd library (blaming the paucity of American writers to the presence of Tauchnitz), Winter again finds Kipling, Rider Haggard, Crawford, and Maurice Hewlett, who wrote historical and regency romances, including the enormously successful *The Forest Lovers* (1898). But to his surprise, and reflecting an anxiety noted both in Winter and Otness about whether passengers were reading quality literature (in other words, applying literary criteria to their selections), Winter also found Ralph Waldo Emerson's *Representative Men* (1850) and John Ruskin's *Modern Painters* (1843–60).

The inference here is that the literary requirements of émigrés cut across lines of high and middlebrow culture, a condition that H.G. Wells confirms in his *The Sea Lady*, a novel serialised in the Mechanic's Institute favourite, *Pearson's Monthly*, during 1901. As a representative of an under-sea world, a mermaid Sea-Lady appears to Wells's narrator and his cousin Melville to tell of, among other marvels, an under-water library that, because “printer's ink under water would not so much run as fly,” is stocked from the accidental and intentional “dropping and blowing overboard of novels and magazines from most passenger carrying vessels.”²⁹ Popular novels are discarded into the sea after their so-called “boom” period is over – “practically the whole of the Tauchnitz library is there” – and the fiction section is as “dominant in this Deep Sea Library as it is upon the counters of Messrs. Mudie.” But while “fashion papers are valued even more highly than novels” sometimes “books of an exceptional sort are thrown over when they are quite finished.” The sea mermaid, gently mocked by the narrator for her interest in fashion and “the rain of light literature that is constantly going on,” also regards highly a cache of *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. But, again, the narrator is uncomfortable with her means of accessing high

27 John Sutherland, *The Stanford Companion to Victorian Fiction* (Stanford: Stanford UP, 1989), p. 295. A good discussion of Hitchens's “bestsellerdom” is found in Claud Cockburn, *Bestseller* (London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1972), pp. 43–64.

28 Francis Marion Crawford, *The Novel, What It Is* (Boston Mass: Macmillan, 1893), p. 8, and pp. 107–8. Crawford's approach to the novel is as an amusement, but nevertheless a serious one. A fuller discussion of Crawford can be found in Simon Frost, ‘Public Gains and Literary Goods: a coeval tale of Conrad, Kipling and Francis Marion Crawford,’ in Kate Macdonald and Christoph Singer, eds., *Transitions in Middlebrow Writing, 1880–1930* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 37–56.

29 H.G. Wells, *The Sea Lady* (New York: Appleton and Company, 1902), pp. 33–40.

culture, satirising the *Encyclopaedia* as “that dense collection of literary snacks and samples, that All-Literature Sausage.”³⁰

Why, though, should literary criteria, certainly criteria from the discipline of comparative literature that emerged over the twentieth century, accurately reflect the values of nineteenth-century émigrés focussed intently on their families’ futures and hopes in a new world? Conducting a rather careful survey of the entire ship, Winter’s worst suspicions about the literary values of onboard reading were confirmed when he discovered that the book which easily carried off the prize was “one of those familiar yellow covered novels by Archibald Clavering Gunter.”³¹ Winter does not say which ship, nor which decks were surveyed (perhaps lending a clue as to ticket-class), but an equally careful canvass of the archives provides a glimpse as to the kind of writings and values that were being served by Gunter and consumed in the émigré market.

Archibald Clavering Gunter

Liverpool-born Archibald Clavering Gunter, himself an émigré, came to publishing via work as a rail and mining engineer, chemist, stock broker and playwright. The sparse bio- and bibliographic information available on Gunter can be traced back to contemporary newspaper reports and reviews, although among these reports there is not always factual agreement.³² *Gunter’s Magazine*, too, provides the occasional insight. Gunter was a playwright before he was a novelist, with New York successes such as *Prince Karl* (from 3 May 1896), *A Florida Enchantment* (from 12 October 1896), and *The Deacon’s Daughter* (from 25 April 1887).³³ His first novel, *Mr Barnes of New York* (1887) was published by Deshler, Welch and Co., seemingly with some financial incentives provided by Gunter. So successful was the novel and so indignant was he at the publisher’s share of the profits that Gunter set up his own New York-based Home Publishing Company, renamed later as the A.C. Gunter Publishing Company. A slight contradiction is suggested by the *St. Paul’s Daily Globe*, which has Gunter the successful playwright unsuccessfully touting his novel manuscript from house to house until self publishing with the Home Publishing

30 Ibid., p. 38.

31 Winter, ‘The Libraries of the Trans-Atlantic Liners’ (see above, n. 20), 373.

32 Peter Dzwonkoski, ed., *American Literary Publishing Houses, 1638–1899*. Part 1: A–M [*Dictionary of Literary Biography* 49] (Detroit Michigan: Gale Research Company, 1986), pp. 209–10. See also ‘Death List of the Day,’ obituary, *New York Times*, 26 February 1907, p. 11.

33 Data from Internet Broadway Database [accessed May 2013], <http://www.ibdb.com/>.

Company.³⁴ The yellow-covered first edition is believed to have come out in a print run of ten thousand, lying dormant until unfavourable critical reviews paradoxically brought it to public attention, and subsequently selling over two hundred thousand copies in the first year in the US. The novel was then promptly turned into a play for a Broadway opening on 15 October 1888. Gunter's obituary places sales of *Mr Barnes* at over a million in the US and England alone.

The Home Publishing Company's output was prolific, lucrative, and packed with Gunter's own work. From around 1904 Gunter published *Gunter's Magazine* which, despite its eagerness for fervent campaigning (one *idée fixe* was a belief that Mormonism was undemocratically threatening America), promised in "The Editor's Megaphone" that "The policy of *Gunter's Magazine* will always be to furnish the greatest amount of entertainment that is possible for types to do. No matter what the title of the article may be, expect amusement from it."³⁵

Home Publishing's hardcover volumes sold for around \$1.50–1.25, and paperbacks were fifty cents, advertised as "World Read Works: the most successful novels of the age."³⁶ In Britain, Gunter's novels were published by Routledge and others, announced and reviewed in the usual periodicals.³⁷ In 1905, the *Gunter's Magazine* advertiser were offering a set of Gunter's to-date thirty one novels, printed on fine, antique-finished paper at thirty one dollars for the set (see Figure 3.1).³⁸

But Gunter's novels were also translated extensively, and sold throughout Continental Europe, from where emigration stemmed. Often re-titled, Gunter's novels can be found in Croatian (no less than one title), Dutch (at least three), German (six), Hungarian (two), Icelandic (seven) and Polish (three), and they can be found in quantity in Norwegian, Swedish and Danish; one source claiming that thirty eight of Gunter's supposed thirty nine novels were translated into Norwegian.³⁹ Matias Skard (1846–1927) – a Norwegian schools pioneer

34 *St. Paul's Daily Globe*, Friday 17 April 1891, p. 9.

35 *Gunter's Magazine* 1.4 (1905), 526.

36 Archibald Clavering Gunter, *My Japanese Prince* (London: Samuel French, 1904) advertising sheet, inside cover.

37 See 'Mr Barnes of New York: review,' *The Graphic*, 26 November 1887, p. 25; 'Miss Nobody of Nowhere: Review,' *The Graphic*, 23 January 1892, p. 34; 'Miss Nobody of Nowhere: news,' *Pall Mall Gazette*, 4 December 1890, p. 3; and 'Miss Nobody of Nowhere: review,' *Pall Mall Gazette*, 4 May 1891, p. 3.

38 Advertiser, *Gunter's Magazine* 1.6 (1905), viii.

39 Sigmund Skard, *Trans-Atlantica: Memoires of a Norwegian Americanist* (Oslo, Bergen Tromsø: Universitetsforlag, 1978), p. 15.

Gunter's Magazine Advertiser

EVERY LIBRARY
 should contain a set of **Archibald Clavering Gunter's** World-Read Works

THE most successful novels ever published in America. Infinitely varied in plot, incidents and character, teeming with life and adventure, and instinct with the great secret of the novelist, that of keeping the reader in breathless expectation as to "what comes next," Mr. Gunter's books are read and re-read, because they divert, delight and instruct.

Read the following list, which includes all of Mr. Gunter's celebrated novels:

My Japanese Prince	A Lost American	Don Balasco of Key West
Phil Conway	Mr. Barnes of New York	Bob Covington
The Man Behind the Door	Mr. Potter of Texas	Susan Turnbull
The Spy Company	Miss Nobody of Nowhere	Ballyho Bey
The City of Mystery	That Frenchman	Billy Hamilton
Tangled Flags	Miss Dividends	The Deacon's Second Wind
The Princess of Copper	A Princess of Paris	The Surprises of an Empty
Adrienne de Portalis	The King's Stockbroker	Hotel
The Fighting Troubadour	The First of the English	The Conscience of a King
M. S. Bradford, Special	The Ladies' Juggernaut	Baron Montez of Panama
Jack Curzon	Her Senator	and Paris

Printed on fine, antique-finished paper, made specially for these books, and very handsomely bound in rich currant cloth, with special design inlaid in gilt and white, gilt letters, and extra fine gilt top.

Price \$1.50 per volume

Or \$38.00 for the entire set of thirty-one volumes

Sent prepaid on receipt of price by

THE HOME PUBLISHING COMPANY

3 EAST FOURTEENTH STREET

NEW YORK

FIGURE 3.1 Advertiser from Gunter's Magazine 1.6, July 1905, 8

and enthusiastic reviewer of Booker T. Washington – read Clavering Gunter during his endless inspection tours, passing on the habit to his son, Sigmund, who mixed a diet of Classical and Old Norse antiquity with Jack London, *Br'er Rabbit* (in translation) and Clavering Gunter “by the score.”⁴⁰

Many translated Gunter novels were reprinted in later editions, some into the 1920s, and were serialised in national and regional newspapers.⁴¹ From the Nordic region, Norway's *Aftenposten* published in Kristiania (Oslo) serialised *Frøken Ingenting* [*Miss Nobody*] from 1896, and *Dagbladet* also from Kristiania serialised *Inez Romero eller Kjæresten fra Kuba* [based on *A Lost American: a Tale of Cuba*, New York, Home Publishing [ca.] 1898] no later than 1897 – the discrepancy in dates for *Inez* being due to cataloguing differences in the Norwegian and US libraries. In Denmark, *Nordiske Boghandlertidende*, the country's leading trade magazine, recorded that *H. Barnes fra New York* would be published in volume in 564 pages and that its serialisation was set to begin the week 23–29 November 1900 in the regional newspaper *Aalborg Stiftidende*. This was advertised next to Rider Haggard's *Sort Hjerte og Hvid Hjerte* [*Black Heart and White Heart*] priced two kroner, and a student study guide by the Danish Nobel Johannes V. Jensen: *Brev lagt til rette til studium i n skemaer*, published by Studenterhjemmet and priced fifteen øre.⁴² The regional county newspaper *Holbæk's Amts Avis* from Holbæk in Sjaelland ran *Attentatet paa Keiserprinsen og Nihilisterne i Rusland. Politi- og Forbryderroman* [Assassination Attempt on the Crown Prince, and the Russian Nihilists: a Police and Crime Novel] from, at the latest, 1898, attributed to Archibald Clavering Gunter and based on an unknown title.⁴³

Part of the confusion around translated titles arises from the comparative lack of international copyright control and the weak presence of authorised translations: the Berne Convention of 1886 that established an agreement for international copyright control was not an effective presence throughout Scandinavia at that time. The overall lack of control in Europe and in the US, and the concomitant threat to income, was also a concern to Gunter: “Such were the dramatic qualities of the book [*Mr Barnes*] that before Mr Gunter could secure his just rights abroad, no less than half a dozen different dramatisations were foisted upon the public.”⁴⁴ Gunter had earlier had a restraining

40 Ibid., pp. 13–15.

41 *Kobberprinsessen* [Princess of Copper] was still being published by Kunstforlaget in 1923, an even later translation being *Grímuklæddi Glimumaðurinn* [possibly *The Masked Assassin*] (Iceland, Reykjavik, 1937–8).

42 See *Nordiske Boghandlertidende* 48 (30 November 1900), 294.

43 Title translations are by the current author.

44 *St. Paul's Daily Globe*, Friday 17 April 1891, p. 9.

order placed on an unauthorised theatre production of *Mr Barnes* in 1891.⁴⁵ In December 1898, Deputy US Marshals acting on a complaint from Gunter's theatrical manager, Mr Henry French, "burst in the doors of Bryer's saloon . . . and arrested the proprietor" securing pirated manuscript copies of Gunter's works.⁴⁶ What this helps to illustrate is Gunter's attitude to his production as a business venture. He seems to encapsulate the figure that Daniel Maudlin identifies as "the Yankee [who] appears as a crucible for the values of the newly emergent *Homo Economicus*," and it is the same figure that appears in many of Gunter's narratives.

Gunter's novels were, to say the least, formulaic: *Mr Barnes of New York* (1887), *Mr Potter of Texas* (1888), *Don Balasco of Key West* (1897); or *Bob Covington – a novel* (1897), *Billy Hamilton – a novel* (1898), *Phil Conway – a novel* (1904); and so on until the Gunter cycle recommenced with *Mr Barnes, American: a Sequel to Mr Barnes of New York* (1907).⁴⁷ Their huge success, though, did not grant him access to the society of *belles lettres* and may even have barred him from it. Based on a rumour, the *New York Times* claimed that Gunter had been "blackballed" by the Authors Club. The grounds for objection were that Mr Gunter's books, "*Mr. Barnes of New York* and *Mr. Potter of Texas* were not considered to be up to the standard of literature which had prevailed as a qualification of membership."⁴⁸

Summarising his narrative technique, Gunter's self-scripted advertisement noted "Infinitely varied in plot, incidents and character, teeming with life and adventure, and instinct with the great secret of the novelist, that of keeping the reader in breathless expectation as to 'what comes next.'"⁴⁹ On reading several of Gunter's novels it becomes apparent that the secret is a pretty open one, but what is most notable is the plots and characterisation, the one being furiously paced and the other uncomplicatedly robust, an observation endorsed by the *Pall Mall Gazette*: "rapid movement and vividly picturesque if not overdrawn

45 'Author Gunter's Rights protected,' *New York Times*, 24 April 1891, p. 1.

46 'Pirated manuscripts Seized,' *New York Times*, 1 January 1898, p. 2.

47 Published in Britain as *The Shadow of a Vendetta: being the further adventures of Mr Barnes of New York* (London: Ward, Lock and Co., 1908). Interestingly, the National Library of Sweden holds Archibald Clavering Gunter, *Mrs Barnes från Newyork: Fortsättning på Mr Barnes från Newyork* [*Mrs Barnes of New York: continuation of Mr Barnes of New York*] trans. M. Drangel (Stockholm, Bonnier, 1907). This may be a faulty entry relating to Archibald Gunter, *Mr Barnes, American: a sequel to Mr Barnes of New York* (London: Stevens and Brown, 1907).

48 'A.C. Gunter and Authors' Club,' *New York Times*, 6 May 1894, p. 4.

49 Advertiser, *Gunter's Magazine* 1.6 (1905), viii.

characters . . . are the secrets to Mr Gunter's success."⁵⁰ And when the pace of his present-tense narrative failed him, Gunter resorted to abusing italics and capitals:

"ESTATES!" gasps little Gussie, who has been gazing at him with open mouth and rolling eyes . . .

"Certainly, estates; *large* ESTATES! But more than that!" and the lawyer lifts up Burke's volume . . .

At this little Gussie grows pale⁵¹

Habitually, the novels' themes are of adversity and endurance, of risk and rags-to-riches, of happiness both financial and romantic, and about revenue on long-forgotten investments. These were themes with which Gunter also identified. The British *Hampshire Telegraph* noted that "Mr A.C.G. . . . is in no way averse . . . from relating stories of his earlier hardships."⁵² In a late nineteenth-century American setting, these themes figured strongly in Gunter's *The Princess of Copper* (1907) the tale of a young orphan girl whose empty Californian copper mines turn out to be worth thirty million dollars; in *Mr Potter of Texas* (1888), the tale of a falsely accused office boy Sammy Potts, fled to America, and his transformation into the wealthy Mr Potter; in *Miss Dividends* (1892) about indomitable Harry Lawrence and his battles with Mormon fanatics over rail stock that finally pass to Erma, Miss Dividends, so the two can be married; and in the aptly titled *Miss Nobody of Nowhere* (1890), the story of orphan Flossie, saved from the Apache Indians by cowboy Pete (in reality Yale-man Phillip), whereafter she can marry Phillip's wealthy friend, van Beekman (see Figure 3.2).

Drawn with no lack of pathos, Gunter's orphans rely on little but resilience, their strength of character, and an undaunted belief that happiness on so-many thousand a year is near at hand. But, rather than reading Gunter as crude melodrama, if we instead read his novels as sequentially plotted paths to success wherein psychological complexity must be subordinate to vivid willpower, both for the main characters and in the narrative technique, then it is possible to interpret from his American novels an oversimplified, but nevertheless necessary

50 See 'Miss Nobody of Nowhere: review,' *Pall Mall Gazette* 8149, Monday 4 May 1891, p. 3.

51 Gunter, *Miss Nobody of Nowhere* (New York: Home Publishing Company, 1890), p. 148.

52 'Slaves of the Quill,' *Hampshire Telegraph and Sussex Chronicle* 5622, Saturday 16 March 1889, p. 9.

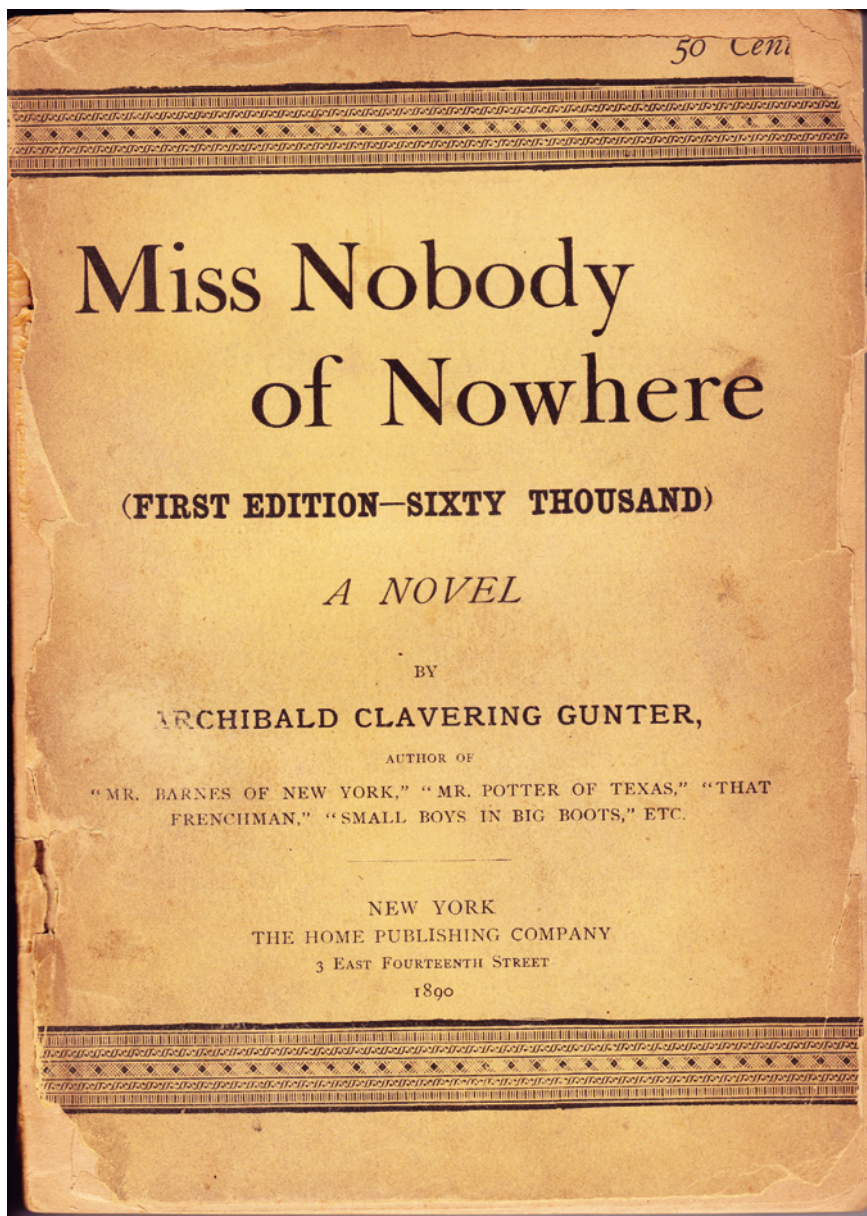


FIGURE 3.2 *Miss Nobody of Nowhere* (1890), front cover
FROM AUTHOR'S PRIVATE COLLECTION

dream of security that inspired some of Europe's sixty million émigrés. In a similar vein, the section "Editor's Megaphone" of *Gunter's Magazine* compared the trials of childhood and adulthood. Gunter found them to be equal, if not in magnitude, then in the relative burden they seemed to represent. But, he encouraged, "It lightens the mind somewhat to recall that we used to stew as hard and complain as bitterly about a pile of blocks that wouldn't stand up at an angle of forty five degrees as we do now because we can't build a fortune on about the same principle . . . and so children teach us philosophy."⁵³

The dream and the "philosophy" necessary for its achievement were not complicated. It was one well-known and capitalised upon by "emigration agents" in Europe and by European regional and cheap purchase-price newspapers who knew their readers' aspirations. The *North Wales Chronicle* for instance advertised dubious security-free loans to working men, next to quack medicines, and prices for Allan, Inman and America Line steamers.⁵⁴ *Reynold's Newspapers* carried advertisements for extra income from selling teas, six pence entry quizzes for cash prizes, and advertisements for harvesters wanted in Argentina, all alongside the lowest steerage rates.⁵⁵ In the *Hampshire Telegraph and Sussex Chronicle*, next to advertisements for painlessly extracted teeth, were ads for passage to the Americas, China, Japan, India and Australia, "steerage £6, 6s."⁵⁶ Dreams of painless teeth and pain-free futures were met through commoditized (print) services. The *Penny Emigrant's Guide*, in its fifth edition, voices émigré aspirations plainly. Prior to advice on passage, prices and work conditions that can be expected, it wrote "While the soil of Great Britain is so monstrously monopolised . . . thousands of young men . . . [will] hire themselves out for a term of years as butchers, not of pigs and cattle, but of young men of other nations who have been driven to enlist by similar causes."⁵⁷ The guide is for those "wishing to lay out their spare money" so as permanently to better their condition. Its images of "As I Was" (Figure 3.3) and "As I Am," (Figure 3.4) addressed to the male as the family's first potential émigré, could not be clearer.

Vulnerability and hope circulating at the turn of the century could be met by émigré service industries that produced everything from passenger ships to reading materials, and which linked their users into a vast heterogeneous

53 'The Editor's Megaphone,' *Gunter's Magazine* 1.5 (1905), 640.

54 'Classified Advertisements,' *North Wales Chronicle*, 19 April 1890, p. 2.

55 'Advertiser,' *Reynolds Newspapers*, 2 February 1890, p. 7.

56 *Hampshire Telegraph and Chronicle*, 23 September 1871, p. 2.

57 Vere Foster, *Work and Wages: or the Penny Emigrant's Guide to the United States and Canada* (London: W. and F.G. Cash, 1855), p. 1.



AS I WAS.

REFERENCES FOR ADVICE AND INFORMATION.

LIVERPOOL AND ALL OTHER BRITISH PORTS.—The Government Emigration Office, whose office in Liverpool is at foot of Bath Street.

QUEBEC, MONTREAL OR TORONTO.—The same.

BOSTON.—Irish Emigrant Society, 4, Congress Square.

NEW YORK.—St. Catherine's Convent, Houston Street, near Broadway; British Emigrant Society, 86, Greenwich Street; Office of the Commissioners of Emigration, Anthony Street, Broadway; American and Foreign Emigrant Protective Society, 27, Greenwich Street.—(The Society's circular will be forwarded free, on receipt of a stamped envelope, by their Agent, E. JONES, 45, Union Street, Liverpool.

ST. LOUIS.—Irish Emigrant Society, Chestnut Street.

A Dollar is equal to 4s. 2d. sterling, being composed of 100 cents., each of which exactly equals a halfpenny.

Much expense may be saved at New York, or other port of arrival, by purchasing a Through Ticket, instead of paying for each conveyance separately.

[SEE COVER AT

FIGURE 3.3 "As I was," Vere Foster, *Work and Wages: or the Penny Emigrant's Guide to the United States and Canada* (1885)

© THE BRITISH LIBRARY BOARD, 8276.B.4 (INSIDE FRONT COVER RECTO)



AS I AM.

IRISH FEMALE EMIGRATION.

For the purpose of raising the condition of the poorest families in the poorest districts of Ireland, by assisting the emigration of one female member of each family, specially selected on account of her poverty, good character, and industrious habits, with the expectation that she will herself take the remaining members of her family out of poverty.

No. of Subscribers March 1, 1855 1000.

Amount subscribed £55 0 0.

I sent 105 persons from County Clare, Ireland, with the proceeds of a similar fund, raised nearly three years ago. I have received no bad accounts of any of them, and most of them have already sent for other members of their families, some for as many as five and six. V. F.

Those of my readers who approve of the above proposal are respectfully requested to collect subscriptions of from one penny upwards in aid, and to remit the amount in postage stamps or post office order, for me to the care of my publishers, Messrs. W. & F. G. CASH, Bishopsgate, London, or pay it to my account with my bankers, Messrs. Courts, Strand, London.

Those who can afford 10s. or 15s. more can have more privacy on ship-board, and for other 10s. or 15s. can have their meals cooked by the Captain's cook.

[SEE COVER AT COMMENCEMENT.]

FIGURE 3.4 "As I am," Vere Foster, *Work and Wages* (1885)

© THE BRITISH LIBRARY BOARD, 8276.B.4 (INSIDE BACK COVER VERSO)

market. Like ships and job advertisements, some literatures recognised the market and sought to satisfy it. Gunter's romps to success over comparatively negotiable obstacles are simplistic, banal even, but like the passenger liners on which his books were eagerly consumed, his work was predicated on something monumental. He was no Upton Sinclair, whose famous immigration novel Bernard Shaw claimed was the most important event of Shaw's long lifetime. Gunter never mentions the harrowing emotional commitment needed by Lithuanian émigrés in Chicago, nor the dehumanisation of city industries, as described in Sinclair's *The Jungle* of 1906. But then anyone reading *The Jungle* translated, say, into Polish, German, Dutch, Hungarian, Norwegian, Swedish or Danish, as Gunter's novels were, would probably never have set out.

Conclusion

If we measure Gunter's commercially successful fiction on the same scale that measures Pope to T.S. Eliot in a continuous narrative of literary historiography, then Gunter will fail and fail miserably. But is that our best response? Since Gutenberg, all published literature by virtue of printing and distribution costs has involved a degree of commercialism and, in the act of exchange, an absolute element of commodification. So to propose a general rule for certain approved literary aesthetic forms as being inversely proportionate to commercial interest – that moneyed interest is proportional to the quality of Art – seems closer to an ideological programme than an examination of evidence. More importantly, should approved literary aesthetic forms be the only criteria through which we assess and understand literary production and what its value was for its readers? William St Clair has described an alternative to the author-led model of creative expression by showing how entrepreneurial publishers perceive unmet needs that can be profitably supplied with appropriately-priced print, necessitating new financing and marketing strategies, and new authors' writings.⁵⁸ In this model, all of the agents in the process – authors, publishers, entrepreneurs, buyers and, especially, readers – are part of a commercial trade; nodes within a communications circuit. In addition to St Clair, we have the model of society based on Bruno Latour's description of critical sociology in his "Introduction" to *Reassembling the Social: an Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory* (2007). This model advises that we look for values of

58 William St Clair, *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2004), pp. 447–9.

cultural production that are not prescribed but which emerge as appropriate for the various actors and users. Rather than an *a priori* fact contextualising a given item of cultural production, society for Latour and the predecessors he discusses is an *a posteriori* creation that results from the linking of users or actors in communication. In combining the book history of St Clair with Latour, therefore, we get the sense of a literary cultural production that, in its very linking of nodes, *creates* a set of associations, a heterogeneous “society” or collective with specific values that business studies would recognise as a market. The common thread within this market for both producers and readers is desire, the gap between human’s wants and their satisfaction that production is supposed to fill.

Based on these alternative user-oriented models, a contemporary to Gunter such as, say, Joseph Conrad with his early serialised stories collected into *Tales of Unrest* (1898) would be simply one among many suppliers to a market established through those using entrepreneurial magazine publishing to satisfy specific needs. How much more can one say of Gunter, who not only recognised a potential new market but successfully established a corner of it through his self-owned Home Publishing Company and through *Gunter’s Magazine*. That he was able to write the copy himself – with just the right balance of rapid movement and superficial characterisation – merely adds to his achievement. The observation is not intended to be flippant: or rather, it would be was it not for the historical seriousness of the market that this essay claims Gunter supplied. If we are unable to understand, historically, how a seemingly superficial literary form could satisfy a deep human longing, then we fail to understand something of the human condition, which after all is what *les sciences humaines* – what Anglophones call the humanities – is all about.

“Introductions by Eminent Writers”: T.S. Eliot and Virginia Woolf in the Oxford World’s Classics Series

Lise Jaillant

“For over 100 years Oxford World’s Classics have brought readers closer to the world’s great literature,” declares a statement at the beginning of recent books in the series. “The pocket-sized hardbacks of the early years contained introductions by Virginia Woolf, T.S. Eliot, Graham Greene, and other literary figures which enriched the experience of reading.” Indeed, in 1928, Woolf and Eliot wrote prefaces to Laurence Sterne’s *Sentimental Journey* (1768) and Wilkie Collins’s *The Moonstone* (1868) respectively. Two decades later, Greene contributed a foreword to the Oxford World’s Classics edition of Henry James’s *The Portrait of a Lady* (1881). These introductions increased the appeal of non-copyright works, and continue to serve the reputation of the World’s Classics as a major cultural enterprise.

This chapter focuses particularly on the late 1920s, at the time when Humphrey Milford (manager of the London branch of Oxford University Press) commissioned introductions by Woolf and Eliot. 1928 was a turning point in the history of modernism – the moment when commercial publishers published modernist writings that had previously been confined to little magazines and small presses.¹ This was the year when the Modern Library, an American series of classics, reprinted James Joyce’s *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* (1916) and Woolf’s *Mrs Dalloway* (1925). However, the Modern Library was very different from traditional series of classics such as Everyman’s Library and the World’s Classics. It was sold as a daring series of “complete and unabridged” texts for readers who wanted to keep abreast of modern literature. The fact that *Portrait of the Artist* was reviewed as “slightly pornographic”² was not a problem for the Modern Library, since the subversive reputation of modernism contributed to the commercial appeal of the series.

1 Lise Jaillant, *Modernism, Middlebrow and the Literary Canon: The Modern Library Series, 1917–1955* (London: Routledge, 2014).

2 Peter Pinto, ‘We Have Been Reading Lately,’ *Canadian Jewish Chronicle* [Montreal], 8 June 1928.

In contrast, the World's Classics published mostly out-of-copyright works and shied away from controversy. Oxford University Press, whose London branch bought the World's Classics from Grant Richards in 1905, was known for its Bibles and scholarly works, not for literary experimentation. The group of Delegates who ran the press from Oxford were extremely reluctant to include contemporary fiction on the OUP list. Although the London office had a large autonomy, its successive managers preferred to avoid any conflict with Oxford. "If I once begun to publish novels," wrote Milford to the novelist Constance Holme, "well, I don't know what would happen. (The Delegates would probably discharge me, to begin with)."³ In practice, Oxford World's Classics included a few contemporary novels, but none of them could be described as experimental or daring. In Mary Hammond's words, "the books had to be inoffensive to the lower- and middle-class family reader."⁴ The World's Classics editors refused to reprint certain books (Zola and Maupassant did not appear on the list until 1933, with the publication of *French Short Stories*). They also expurgated some texts, including the *Twenty-Four Tales of Tolstoy* translated by Louise and Aylmer Maude – which became *Twenty-Three Tales* when the story "Françoise" was dropped.⁵ This kind of censorship aimed at protecting "innocent" readers of the World's Classics – namely young people, women, and the lower classes. "Well into the twentieth century a double standard prevailed," Peter Sutcliffe notes. "Expensive complete texts could be made available for the élite, for 'ripe scholars': for the masses expurgated editions would be required reading for many years to come."⁶

So why would such a staid series include an introduction by T.S. Eliot, a writer with "a sustained interest in rotting orifices"?⁷ Why would a series associated with an old English university value the opinion of Woolf, who repeatedly criticized the patriarchal structure of the academic system? My central argument is that, by the late 1920s, Woolf and Eliot had become well-known names recognizable by the lower middle class, the self-educated and other readers of the World's Classics. In Pierre Bourdieu's term, Woolf and Eliot now had the "power to consecrate" old books, moving them to the centre of literary

3 Humphrey Milford to Constance Holme, 21 December 1931. Oxford, Archives of the Oxford University Press (hereafter referred to as OUP), Letter books of Humphrey Milford.

4 Mary Hammond, *Reading, Publishing and the Formation of Literary Taste in England, 1880–1914* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), pp. 85–115, 103.

5 Ibid., pp. 104–5.

6 Peter H. Sutcliffe, *The Oxford University Press: An informal history* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), p. 143; Hammond *Reading, Publishing* (see above, n. 4), p. 104.

7 Rachel Potter, 'Obscene Modernism and the Trade in Salacious Books,' *Modernism/Modernity* 16.1 (2009), 87–104, there 90.

discussion and increasing their sales.⁸ The Oxford World's Classics not only commissioned new introductions to Eliot and Woolf, but also reprinted some of their other works in the early 1930s. The second series of *Selected Modern English Essays* (1932), edited by Milford, contained Woolf's "The Patron and the Crocus" (as well as an essay on T.S. Eliot, by C. Williams). *English Critical Essays, Twentieth Century* (1933) included Woolf's "Modern Fiction" and Eliot's essay on Samuel Johnson's poems *London* (1738) and *The Vanity of Human Wishes* (1749). Poems by Eliot also appeared in *A Book of American Verse* (1935).

Considering the cultural importance and longevity of the World's Classics, it is surprising that the series has attracted so little scholarly interest. Even the three-volume *History of Oxford University Press* does not feature any chapter on the World's Classics (although there are related essays on educational and classical books, and on the origins of the London branch of the press).⁹ The few sources of information on the series include a bibliography available on Western University's website,¹⁰ a succinct account in Sutcliffe's 1978 book, and a more detailed analysis in Hammond's chapter, "'People Read So Much Now and Reflect So Little': Oxford University Press and the Classics Series" in her *Reading, Publishing and the Formation of Literary Taste in England, 1880–1914* (2006). Since Hammond focuses on Henry Frowde (the manager of OUP's London business) and his role in the early development of the World's Classics, she has little to say on the original creator Grant Richards, or on Frowde's successor Humphrey Milford. This chapter aims to put the introductions by modernist writers in the broader context of the history of the World's Classics, a series sold to a wide audience. It thus contributes to scholarship on the relationship between high modernism and the marketplace, and on Eliot's and Woolf's non-fiction writings.¹¹

8 Pierre Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature* (New York: Columbia UP, 1993), p. 42; Hammond, *Reading, Publishing* (see above, n. 4), p. 113.

9 Ian Gadd, Simon Eliot, and Wm. Roger Louis, eds., *The History of Oxford University Press*, 3 vols. (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2013).

10 J. Godsey, Geoffrey Milburn, and Nicholas Murray, 'The World's Classics' and "Oxford World's Classics": A Guide to the Clothbound Editions (and Their Variants), 16 April 2010 [accessed 8 May 2014], <http://www.edu.uwo.ca/worldsclassics/worlds.pdf>.

11 For discussion of the "vertical expansion" of modernist studies towards popular culture, see Douglas Mao and Rebecca L. Walkowitz, 'The New Modernist Studies,' *PMLA: Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* 123.3 (2008), 737–48, there 744. For more on Eliot's and Woolf's non-fiction, see Michael Kaufmann, 'A Modernism of One's Own: Virginia Woolf's *TLS* Reviews and Eliotic Modernism,' in Beth C. Rosenberg and Jeanne Dubino, eds., *Virginia Woolf and the Essay* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997), pp. 137–55, as well as Rosenberg and Dubino's introduction to this collection of essays.

Grant Richards, Henry Frowde and the World's Classics

Drawing on N.N. Feltes's work, Mary Hammond describes Grant Richards, who created the World's Classics in 1901, as an "enterprising" publisher – as opposed to the "list" publisher Oxford University Press.¹² Richards (1872–1948) was only twenty-four years old when he created his own firm with the help of his family – including his uncle, the writer Grant Allen.¹³ As a young publisher with a name to make, Richards could not set his sights on well-known authors, but he showed an aptitude to attract promising writers at the beginning of their careers. He thus published Laurence Housman's *Spikenard* (1898), G.K. Chesterton's first book *The Wild Knight and Other Poems* (1900), and Arnold Bennett's *Fame and Fiction* (1901). Like John Lane and other enterprising small presses, Richards did not shy away from controversial literature. He offered to take on James Joyce's *Dubliners* in 1906, but backed out when the printer objected to certain passages. As Robert Scholes notes, "much of his caution in dealing with *Dubliners*, as a matter of fact, stemmed from his precarious financial situation at the time."¹⁴ These financial difficulties had partly originated in the launch of the World's Classics five years earlier. As a small, undercapitalized publisher, Richards was ill equipped to respond to the enormous and unexpected demand for his inexpensive reprints. "When I started the series," Richards later said, "the trade generally prophesied failure for it. Success, however, was immediate, increasing and continued, and the series might almost be said to be running its rivals off the field."¹⁵

How can we account for this success, at a time of heightened competition from other cheap series? Since Richards mainly selected popular non-copyright books, he could not count on the uniqueness of his list: *Jane Eyre*, the first book included in the World's Classics, had also appeared in Walter Scott's Camelot series in 1889 and in Bliss, Sands & Co.'s Burleigh library in 1896. However, as Richard Altick has shown, many cheap series were poorly produced: "Strenuously small (and often badly worn) type; thin margins, sometimes crowded with legends advertising tea, baking powder, or patent

12 Hammond, *Reading, Publishing* (see above, n. 4), p. 95.

13 George Sims, 'Grant Richards: Publisher,' *Antiquarian Book Monthly Review*, January 1989, 14–27, there 16.

14 Robert Scholes, 'Grant Richards to James Joyce,' *Studies in Bibliography* 16 (1963), 139–60, there 140.

15 Richards to Herbert B. Turner & Co, 2 January 1904. Archives of Grant Richards, 1897–1948 (Cambridge: Chadwyck-Healey, 1979), Microform (hereafter referred to as GR), Letter book Vol. 4 (1903–1904).

medicines; poor paper; paper wrappers; flimsy sewing – these were too often the result of the pressure to cut prices.”¹⁶ To distinguish the World’s Classics from its competitors, Richards paid particular attention to the material aspect of the books while keeping prices low: “Size five x three-and-a-half inches, their standard bulk-one-and-a-half inches, stamped with a gilt spine decoration by Laurence Housman, they sold at no more than 1s cloth and 2s skiver leather.”¹⁷

In an effort to carve a unique niche for the World’s Classics, Richards thought of including works by living authors – as long as they agreed on a reduced royalty rate compatible with the small profit margins of the series. Following Grant Allen’s advice, he contacted the philosopher Herbert Spencer, who replied that the offer was too low to be considered.¹⁸ Richards had better luck with Theodore Watts-Dunton, whose 1898 bestseller *Aylwin* joined the World’s Classics in 1904. As the leading critic of poetry for the *Examiner* and, from 1876, the *Athenaeum*, Watts-Dunton was a well-connected and respected literary man. Richards suggested that he write an introduction to his book: “This would be of considerable interest to the wide public your book will reach in the World’s Classics, and would also draw fresh journalistic notice to the edition.”¹⁹ As Hammond points out, introductions were already a well-established feature of classics series, appearing in Cassell’s National Library, Routledge’s World and Railway Libraries, Chandos Classics, the Minerva Library of Famous Books and the Temple Classics.²⁰ But writers generally introduced older classics, not recent bestsellers such as *Aylwin*.

By the time of Richards’s bankruptcy in 1905, the World’s Classics included 65 titles. To sustain the rapid expansion of the series, Richards went heavily into debt. According to *Publishers’ Circular*, “he had to borrow £8,000 off creditors on charges covering the series of books entitled ‘The World’s Classics,’ the leases of 2 Park Crescent, and 48 Leicester Square, and other property.”²¹ The main part of the Richards estate was acquired by Alexander Moring, who then

16 Richard Altick, ‘From Aldine to Everyman: Cheap Reprint Series of the English Classics 1830–1906,’ *Studies in Bibliography* 11 (1958), 3–24, there 15.

17 Mervyn Horder, ‘Grant Richards: Portent & Legend,’ *London Magazine*, April/May 1991, 36–46, there 42. On the material form see also John Birchall, ‘The World’s Classics: A Library within a Library,’ *Books in Wernicke*, 11 March 2012 [accessed 8 May 2014], <http://booksinwernicke.blogspot.ca/2012/03/world-classics-library-within-library.html>.

18 Richards to Charles Holme, 17 December 1903. Letter book Vol. 4 (1903–4), GR (see above, n. 15).

19 Richards to Theodore Watts-Dunton, 18 November 1903. Ibid.

20 Hammond, *Reading, Publishing* (see above, n. 4), p. 111.

21 ‘Mr. Grant Richards’s Affairs,’ *Publishers’ Circular*, 22 April 1905, 434.

negotiated with Henry Frowde of Oxford University Press for the sale of the World's Classics.²²

After October 1905, the image of the series underwent a major shift. No longer owned by an entrepreneurial publisher with a taste for subversive texts, the World's Classics was now associated with a prestigious university press. However, Frowde's name appeared on the imprint, "to distinguish these sorts of books, and perhaps to distance them, from those published by the Clarendon Press" in Oxford.²³ The positioning of the series was therefore ambiguous, reflecting both an ambition to advertise links with Oxford while avoiding any embarrassment to the Board of Delegates.

Shortly after purchasing the series, Frowde asked Watts-Dunton to publicize his strategy for the new Oxford World's Classics in the *Athenaeum*. The announcement should articulate a three-point plan: "that new vigour would now be infused into the series, that important additions are to be made, that as in other series printed at the Oxford University Press writers can rely on the accuracy of the text."²⁴ First, in his effort to regenerate the series, Frowde commissioned introductions that would "lift some of the new volumes a little above the bare reprint style."²⁵ As Frowde explained, these introductions were written by "eminent writers."²⁶ Frowde thus contacted Edmund Gosse, asking him to suggest one or two new books he would like to introduce (Gosse eventually wrote the foreword to Thackeray's *Pendennis*, published in 1907).²⁷ The same kind of request appears repeatedly in Frowde's correspondence. He was happy to leave a great deal of freedom to the potential contributor, as long as the texts selected were non-copyright and "popular in character, for the first cost of production is not turned until from 10,000 to 15,000 have been sold."²⁸ The *name* of the writer who penned the preface was, to a certain extent, more important than the texts themselves. As Bourdieu has argued, "the consecrated writer is the one who has the power to consecrate and to win assent when he or she consecrates an author or a work – with a preface, a favourable review, a

22 Frowde bought the copyright, but also the stock and plates of the World's Classics (Contract between Alexander Moring and Henry Frowde, October 1905). Oxford, OUP, Letter books of Henry Frowde.

23 Amy Flanders, 'The Press in London, 1896–1970,' in Ian Gadd, Simon Eliot and Wm. Roger Louis, eds., *The History of Oxford University Press*, 3 vols. (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2013), 3: 136–88 (p. 140).

24 Frowde to Watts-Dunton, 18 December 1905 (see above, n. 22).

25 Frowde to Watts-Dunton, 18 December 1905. Ibid.

26 Frowde to Watts-Dunton, 19 April 1906 and 18 December 1905. Ibid.

27 Frowde to Gosse, 7 May 1906. Ibid.

28 Frowde to George Wyndham, 6 November 1906. Ibid.

prize, etc.”²⁹ The “consecration” process worked in two ways: writers of introductions brought new prestige to old books (and to the World’s Classics series), and in turn, these classics increased the cultural aura of already-distinguished authors.

In addition to renowned writers, Frowde also asked distinguished scholars to contribute introductions. Although he insisted that the World’s Classics imprint was for “popular books” not schoolbooks or educational works (as published by the Clarendon Press),³⁰ Frowde seemed nevertheless eager to appeal to the school market and to self-educated readers. Introductions by well-known academics would not only boost the prestige of the series, but also increase sales. “We shall be much gratified to see your name associated with the series, and an introduction from your pen will materially help the sale of the book,” wrote Frowde to the Master of University College Oxford.³¹

Introductions by famous names, as well as new additions, allowed the World’s Classics to compete with Everyman’s Library, a well-produced series created by J.M. Dent in 1906. In a letter to Watts-Dunton, Frowde wrote: “Dent is making a great splash with his series, and the specimens which I have seen are certainly deserving of success.” Since Dent planned to eventually include a staggering 1,000 volumes in Everyman’s Library, Frowde was determined to considerably increase the World’s Classics list. He asked Watts-Dunton “for a list of any works which occur to you which ought to be included, and the best name in each case for an introduction.”³² In a report to Delegates written two years after the purchase of the series, Frowde noted that 61 new titles had been added to the initial list of 65 World’s Classics books. In total, 250,000 volumes were sold each year, including one third in leather. “The success of the venture has, no doubt, been to some extent affected by the gigantic proportions of Everyman’s Library which Mr Dent has since issued,” wrote Frowde, “but notwithstanding this our sales are being fairly well maintained.”³³

The third point of Frowde’s strategy to develop the World’s Classics relied on the accuracy of texts. One of the first things Frowde did after acquiring the series from Grant Richards was to have the volumes “very carefully read” to correct misprints.³⁴ Frowde used the distinguished scholarly reputation of Oxford to differentiate the World’s Classics from other cheap series. More than

29 Bourdieu, *Field of Cultural Production* (see above, n. 8), p. 42.

30 Frowde to Watts-Dunton, 12 January 1906 (see above, n. 22).

31 Frowde to the Master of University College Oxford, 23 September 1909. Ibid.

32 Frowde to Watts-Dunton, 30 January 1906. Ibid.

33 Frowde to Charles Cannan, 27 November 1907. Ibid.

34 Frowde to Watts-Dunton, 12 January 1906. Ibid.

TABLE 4.1 *Bindings and prices (in shillings and pence) for each edition of the World's Classics, 1907*

Thick-paper edition	Pocket edition
Cloth (1/-)	Art cloth (1/-)
Sultan red leather (1/6)	Sultan red leather (1/6)
Buckram (paper label) (1/6)	¼ Vellum (4/-)
¼ Parchment (1/8)	
Lambskin (2/-)	
Parchment (2/6)	
¼ Vellum (4/-)	
½ Calf (4/-)	
Whole calf (5/6)	
Three calf (5/6)	

twenty years later, his successor, Humphrey Milford could present the World's Classics editions of Tolstoy as "reliable translations" in a market saturated with cheap editions "so unreliable that they ought not to be encouraged."³⁵

Frowde followed Grant Richards's practice to issue the World's Classics in various formats sold at different prices. In spring 1906, he launched the first Pocket editions, printed on thin paper for holiday, travel and outdoors use. This was probably a way to side-step competition from Everyman's Library, whose books had a larger size.³⁶ World's Classics were also available in thick paper, for a more durable presence in a personal library. Copies in either thickness were sold in cloth and leather bindings. The 1907 catalogue gives an indication of this diversity in paper, binding and price.³⁷ The thick-paper edition was bound-up in ten different styles, as Table 4.1 shows.

This broad choice of physical formats sat rather uncomfortably with the proclaimed uniformity of the World's Classics. As Frowde told the Delegates, "a popular series issued under a general title ought to consist of volumes uniform in size, binding, and price."³⁸ Frowde gave the examples of the Rulers of India Series and the Fireside Dickens Series, whose variations in prices had been

35 Milford to George Stephen, 22 June 1928 (see above, n. 3).

36 Milford to H.Z. Walck, 14 August 1943. Oxford, OUP, WC Misc. (to June 1962), Ref: LOGE 000260 Box LG34.

37 Qtd in 'The World's Classics,' 12 August 1943. Ibid.

38 Frowde to the Delegates, 22 November 1905 (see above, n. 22).

“detrimental” to the success of the former and “unfortunate” for the latter. Frowde and Milford (who took over in 1913) probably used the various physical formats of the World’s Classics to target different niches of readers. For example, thick-paper editions bound in calf leather were well suited for those who wanted to build their own libraries, but not for travellers and low-income readers. The thick-paper edition was dropped in 1917 and, by 1928 the World’s Classics series was issued only in the Pocket edition, in two bindings priced at 2s. for cloth and 3s. 6d. for sultan red leather.

Humphrey Milford and T.S. Eliot’s introduction to *The Moonstone*

The turn towards more physical uniformity was accompanied by a relative modernisation of the list. Under Richards’s and Frowde’s leadership, the World’s Classics had included works and introductions by writers associated with the Victorian era. Watts-Dunton’s death in 1914 nearly coincided with the arrival of Humphrey Milford at the head of the London branch. While Richards and Frowde had started working in their adolescence, Milford went to the University of Oxford to study classics. Unlike the first two, he was an Oxford insider, selected by Charles Cannan, then secretary to the Delegates of the OUP.³⁹ Amy Flanders suggests that “while Frowde’s trade experience and entrepreneurship had served the London business well, Cannan perhaps felt that Milford’s academic credentials would better suit the ever-growing list of literary and educational titles.”⁴⁰ Indeed, Milford kept a life-long interest in literature and followed contemporary developments by reading the *Times Literary Supplement*, the *London Mercury* and the *Criterion* (founded by T.S. Eliot in 1922).⁴¹ Like Eliot, Milford also enjoyed various forms of popular culture. An avid reader of detective and mystery stories, he once told the politician Godfrey Collins: “I began *The Footsteps that Stopped* – what an excellent title – late one evening, and found myself at past midnight at the most exciting part, when a belated (and of course ‘wrong-number’) telephone-bell rang and terrified me out of wits!”⁴²

In 1924, Milford added an anthology of “uncanny tales,” *Ghosts & Marvels*, in the World’s Classics. Montague Rhodes James, a noted medievalist and author of antiquarian ghost stories, prefaced the book. The editor of the anthology,

39 Martin Maw, ‘Milford, Sir Humphrey Sumner (1877–1952),’ *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004 [accessed 8 May 2014], <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/35020>.

40 Flanders (see above, n. 23), p. 144.

41 Milford to F.V. Morley, 10 May 1928; Milford to Abel Chevalley, 5 January 1927 (see above, n. 3).

42 Milford to Collins, 2 October 1926. Ibid.

V.H. Collins, selected one of James's stories ("Casting the Runes"), as well as tales by Daniel Defoe, Walter Scott, George Eliot, H.G. Wells, Algernon Blackwood, Barry Pain and others. Like other World's Classics, *Ghosts & Marvels* was sold in Britain, the United States and throughout the British Empire. An advertisement from the Indian branch of the Oxford University Press declared that this "book of many thrills . . . will please the lovers of the *Supernatural*."⁴³ The *Times of India* also described it as "a fine parcel of creepy stories."⁴⁴ In 1927, the first printing of 10,000 copies had sold out, and two additional printings of 5,000 and 10,000 copies were ordered.⁴⁵

The success of *Ghosts & Marvels* encouraged Milford to add more popular short stories to the World's Classics. *Crime & Detection*, published in 1926, included stories by Edgar Allan Poe, Arthur Conan Doyle, Arthur Morrison, Richard Austin Freeman, Ernest Bramah, G.K. Chesterton, H.C. Bailey, E.W. Hornung, and Barry Pain. According to one advertisement, *Crime & Detection* contained "a delightful introduction (which will conquer the prejudices of the firmest disliker of introductions)."⁴⁶ In this clearly written preface, the Magdalen historian E.M. [Edward Murray] Wrong argued that the detective story could be traced back to the Bible: in the Apocrypha, for example, "Daniel's cross-examination saves Susanna from the false witness of lecherous elders."⁴⁷ Having placed detective fiction in the long history of Western literature, Wrong then went on to praise the Victorian writers who had re-invented the genre: Wilkie Collins's *The Woman in White* (1859, reprinted in the World's Classics in 1921) "made a happy connexion between villainy and detection" and *The Moonstone* was "more orthodox because more of a pure puzzle."⁴⁸ Wrong's foreword was so influential that fifteen years later, the American publisher and mystery scholar Howard Haycraft could describe it as a "memorable introduction" that "remains the most succinct of all statements of detective story principles."⁴⁹ Haycraft also anthologized the preface in his collection of critical essays, *The Art of the Mystery Story* (1946).

It was highly uncommon for cheap series of classics to include detective fiction (*Fourteen Great Detective Stories*, largely inspired by *Crime & Detection*,

43 Oxford University Press, Advertisement, *Times of India*, 11 March 1927.

44 'Current Topics,' *Times of India*, 15 January 1925.

45 Oxford, OUP, Production & Sales figures, *Ghosts and Marvels*.

46 Oxford World's Classics, Advertisement, *Spectator* 137 (1926), 400.

47 E.M. Wrong, 'Introduction' to *Crime & Detection* [World's Classics] (London: Oxford UP, 1926), pp. ix-xxx (p. ix).

48 Ibid., p. xii.

49 Howard Haycraft, *Murder For Pleasure: The Life And Times Of The Detective Story* (New York: Appleton, 1941), p. 273.

was published in the Modern Library in 1928 and *Tales of Detection*, edited by Dorothy Sayers, appeared in Everyman's Library only in 1936). As Haycraft put it, *Crime & Detection* was not only the first anthology on the subject "to be compiled in accordance with critical principles," it also had an introduction that "marked the earliest attempt of a purposive historical and analytical survey and summation of the medium."⁵⁰ *Crime & Detection* was thus a unique product that caught the attention of many reviewers. *Contemporary Review* declared that "it was a good idea but a difficult task" to add detective stories to the World's Classics. The journalist commended the selection, but found Wrong's connection between the prophet Daniel and detective fiction rather "far-fetched."⁵¹ The *Times Literary Supplement* devoted its leading article to a long discussion on detectives, which was then reproduced in the American magazine the *Living Age*. The *TLS* reviewer, Harry Pirie-Gordon (13rd Laird of Buthlaw), praised Oxford University Press "for reissuing in cheap editions the finer achievements of the Old Masters of this form of craft." According to him, *Crime & Detection* was interesting precisely because it contained many older texts written before the invention of modern technologies:

In this way we can readily compare the technique of those who thrill us now with that of the men who kept our sires and grandsires awake till dawn with the prowess of heroes who landed each criminal fish in turn without the assistance of finger-prints or chemical reagents, telegraphic warnings over the official tape-machine to all police stations, wireless messages to shipmasters upon the high seas, photography, the telephone, or any means of locomotion more rapid than a hansom cab.⁵²

This focus on tradition fitted well with the image of the World's Classics, and with Wrong's account of the long history of the detective genre.

Crime & Detection was presented as a collection of venerable classics written by "Old Masters," but also as an anthology of thrilling tales grounded in modernity. The dust jacket thus showed a drawing of an executioner, in a purified composition of angular shapes and black lines (Figure 4.1). A similar style was used in a poster that grouped together *Ghosts & Marvels* and *Crime & Detection*, marketed as "short stories for the holidays" (Figure 4.2). These striking modern illustrations highlight an evolution in the positioning of the World's Classics. Milford trod a fine line between tradition and modernity.

⁵⁰ Howard Haycraft, ed., *The Art of the Mystery Story: A Collection of Critical Essays* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1946), p. 18.

⁵¹ Unindexed back matter, *Contemporary Review*, 1 July 1926, 811.

⁵² Harry Pirie-Gordon, 'Detectives,' *Times Literary Supplement*, August 12, 1926.

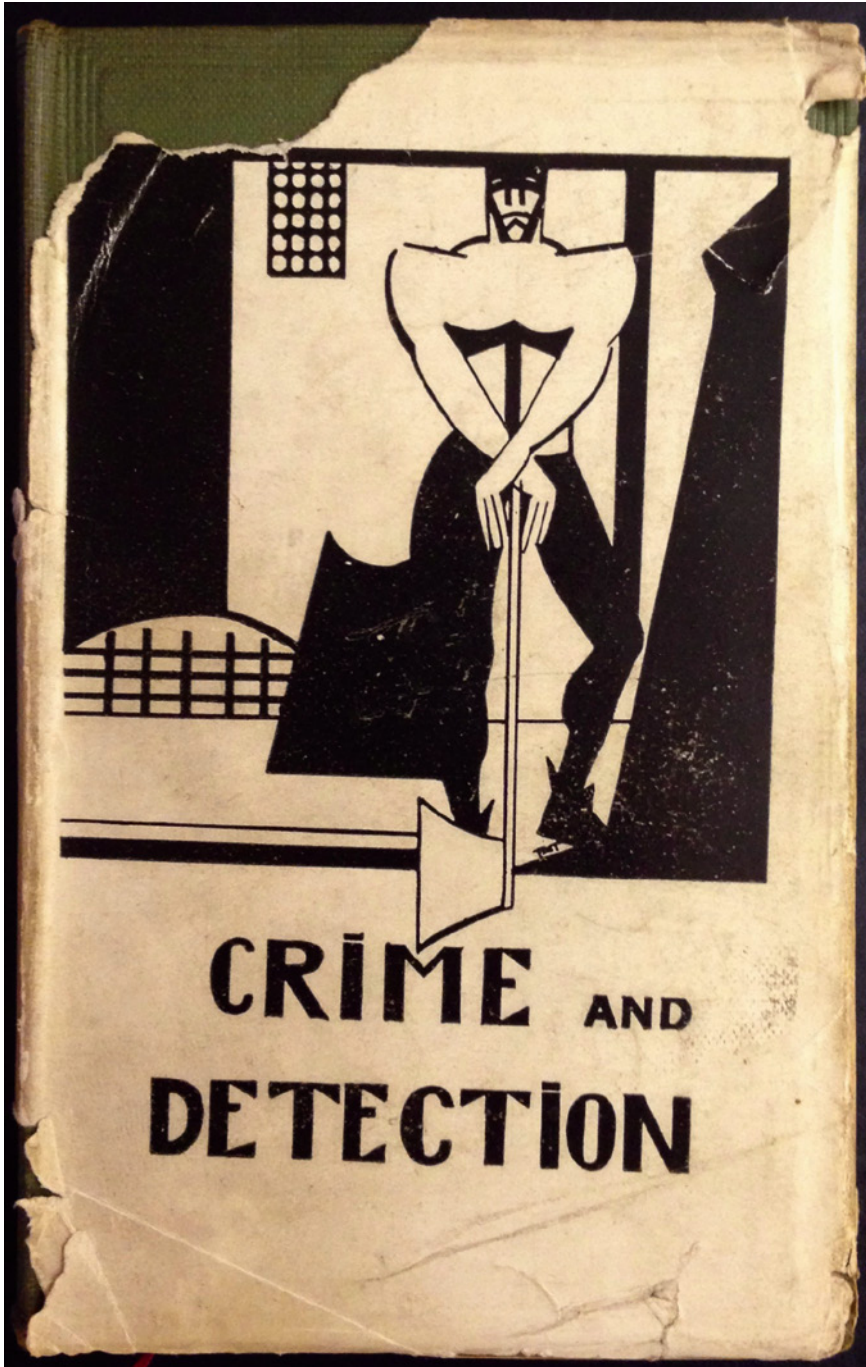


FIGURE 4.1 *Dust jacket, Crime & Detection (c. 1926, unknown illustrator)*

BY PERMISSION OF ROXANN BILGER AND OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS



FIGURE 4.2 *Poster, Ghosts & Marvels and Crime & Detection, reproduced in the Bookseller, August 1926, 32*

On the one hand, he was heavily invested in preserving the image of the World's Classics as a respectable, conservative series but, on the other, he was aware of the intensely competitive nature of the reprint market. In 1926, the same year in which *Crime & Detection* was published, Jonathan Cape launched the Travellers' Library, a cheap series that included copyrighted texts such as James Joyce's *Dubliners*. Milford chose to position the World's Classics somewhere between Everyman's Library and the Travellers' Library, by incorporating aspects of the new art and new literature without losing sight of the World's Classics core mission of providing family-friendly books to a large audience of middle-to-lower-class readers.

Crime & Detection was an immediate bestseller: nine months after its release, nearly 10,000 copies had already been sold.⁵³ A comparison with *Ghosts & Marvels* shows that both books eventually reached a total sale of around 25,000 copies each. In 1927, Milford published a second selection of tales, *More Ghosts & Marvels* with a first printing of 10,000.⁵⁴ He then issued the second series of *Crime & Detection*. With these books, Milford had proved that detective fiction and ghost stories could be marketed as "world's classics" without endangering the credibility of the series.

It is in this context that Milford decided to add Wilkie Collins's *The Moonstone* to the World's Classics. In December 1926, Harold Raymond of Chatto & Windus confirmed that Collins's preface to the second edition was free to be used.⁵⁵ The novel itself had been out-of-copyright since 1910, and was already available in several publisher's series (including Nelson's Classics and Harrap's Standard Fiction Library). However, Milford was confident that a preface by a well-chosen writer could create interest in the book. In January 1927, Milford read T.S. Eliot's praise of *The Moonstone* in the *New Criterion* ("The great book which contains the whole of English detective fiction in embryo . . . ; every detective story, so far as it is a good detective story, observes the detective laws to be drawn from this book").⁵⁶ Milford wrote to the author:

I am about to add it to the World's Classics series, and it would give me great pleasure if you would write an introduction – pleasure both in being associated with your name, and in having the *Moonstone* properly

53 Oxford, OUP, Production & Sales figures, *Crime & Detection*.

54 Oxford, OUP, Production & Sales figures, *More Ghosts & Marvels*.

55 Harold Raymond to Gerard Hopkins, 3 December 1926. Oxford, OUP, File *The Moonstone*, Ref: 010117 Box: OP1365.

56 *New Criterion*, January 1927, 140. Qtd in Valerie Eliot and John Haffenden, eds., *The Letters of T.S. Eliot*, 4 vols. (London: Faber and Faber, 2012), 3: 395, n. 3.

discussed. It remains so much the greatest of detective novels that someone ought to do it justice among the populace.⁵⁷

Here we see a reference to the name of the consecrated writer, and to his power to re-evaluate a work that has so far been neglected.

Eliot was delighted by Milford's letter, which came with a gift of the World's Classics books (including *The Woman in White*). He replied on the same day to accept the offer, pending the authorisation of Faber who had an option on all his non-periodical work. Eliot also mentioned that he was working on a long article on Collins for *The Times*, and suggested that *Armadale* should be added to the World's Classics.⁵⁸ In mid-April, Milford, desiring to publish the book as soon as possible, asked Eliot to submit his preface within three to four weeks.⁵⁹ Eliot took less than that, and sent his preface on 1 May 1927 along with a cover letter:

I am afraid that you may find it rather short for your purpose. But I found that if said more in a general way, about Collins or about this form of fiction, it seemed to cease to be an Introduction to this book; and if I said more particularly about this book I was telling the new reader more than he wanted to know in advance. It is difficult to write a long introduction to a single novel, and I doubt whether many readers want it.⁶⁰

For Eliot (and for Woolf), an introduction was at best an invitation to read the book and, at worst, a pedantic discourse that would create a boundary between readers and the novel.

Eliot was well aware of the role of scholars in the Oxford World's Classics series. One of the volumes sent by Milford, William Congreve's *Comedies*, was edited and introduced by Bonamy Dobrée, a professor of English at the Egyptian University in Cairo. Eliot's distrust of academia probably explains his reluctance to write a long introduction, which risked turning the reader away from the novel. His own experience of academic life, including graduate work at Oxford, had been far from happy. He once wrote to his friend Conrad Aiken: "I hate university towns and university people, who are the same everywhere,

57 Milford to Eliot, 31 January 1927 (see above, n. 55).

58 Eliot to Milford, 31 January 1927. Ibid. Qtd in *Letters of T.S. Eliot* (see above, n. 56), 3: pp. 395–6.

59 Milford to Eliot, 12 April 1927 (see above, n. 3).

60 Eliot to Milford, 1 May 1927 (see above, n. 55). Qtd in *Letters of T.S. Eliot* (see above, n. 56), 3: 493.

with pregnant wives, sprawling children, many books and hideous pictures on the walls . . . Oxford is very pretty, but I don't like to be dead."⁶¹ As Gail McDonald argues, Eliot was convinced that erudition was not enough to explain a work of art: the creation of poetry and criticism could bring insights not available through traditional academic disciplines.⁶²

As we have seen, the Oxford World's Classics had a rather ambiguous positioning. Although it was published by a university press and included many academic contributors, it was sold to a large audience of non-specialist readers (the "populace" mentioned by Milford in his first letter to Eliot). The opportunity to reach a wide readership certainly appealed to Eliot. While he has often been presented as an elitist writer who wrote difficult poems for a small coterie of readers, Eliot, in fact, deplored the divide between high and low culture. The importance of addressing a broad audience is a central theme in "Wilkie Collins and Dickens," published on the front page of the *Times Literary Supplement* in August 1927. "Those who have lived before such terms as 'high-brow fiction,' 'thrillers' and 'detective fiction' were invented," wrote Eliot, "realize that melodrama is perennial and that the craving for it is perennial and must be satisfied."⁶³ As David Chinitz puts it, "Eliot describes the disjunction between the 'high' and the 'popular' as a sort of iron curtain that has only recently descended across the arts."⁶⁴ For Eliot, Collins's melodramatic plots appealed to all kinds of readers and ensured his literary legacy. Even long after his death, *The Woman in White* – "the greatest of Collins's novels" – continues to be a novel that "every one knows."⁶⁵ Eliot also praised the *Moonstone* as "the first and greatest of English detective novels,"⁶⁶ which became "the first, the longest, and the best of modern English detective novels" in the introduction to the World's Classics edition.⁶⁷ The editor of the *TLs*, who published Eliot's article in August for "holiday reading,"⁶⁸ must have been delighted by the light and enthusiastic tone of the piece. "Best" and "greatest" are recurring words.

61 Eliot to Aiken, 31 December 1914. Qtd in *Letters of T.S. Eliot* (see above, n. 56), 1: 74.

62 Gail McDonald, *Learning to Be Modern: Pound, Eliot, and the American University* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), p. 44.

63 Eliot, 'Wilkie Collins and Dickens,' *Times Literary Supplement*, 4 August 1927, p. 1.

64 David Chinitz, *T.S. Eliot and the Cultural Divide* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), p. 55.

65 Eliot, 'Wilkie Collins and Dickens' (see above, n. 63).

66 Ibid.

67 Eliot, 'Introduction' to *The Moonstone*, by Wilkie Collins [World's Classics] (London: Oxford UP, 1928), pp. v–xii (p. v).

68 Eliot to Milford, 1 May 1927 (see above, n. 55). Qtd in *Letters of T.S. Eliot* (see above, n. 56), 3: 493.

Eliot does not directly criticize contemporary writers for being too obscure or highbrow, but reminds them that “the first – and not one of the least difficult – requirements of either prose or verse is that it should be interesting.”⁶⁹

Although Milford had planned to publish *The Moonstone* shortly after receiving Eliot’s introduction, the book did not appear until March 1928.⁷⁰ The 2,500-word introduction is a more focused version of the 3,500-word article. In particular, Eliot made cuts to the discussion on the divide between high and low culture. He also expanded his comparison between *The Moonstone* and contemporary detective novels: “Modern detective writers have added the use of fingerprints and such other trifles, but they have not materially improved upon either the personality or the methods of Sergeant Cuff.”⁷¹ This observation resembled Harry Pirie-Gordon’s review of *Crime & Detection* in the *TLS*. For both Eliot and Pirie-Gordon, the detective’s use of new technologies did not necessarily make the novel more interesting. “Sergeant Cuff is the perfect detective,” wrote Eliot, “Our modern detectives are most often either efficient but featureless machines, forgotten the moment we lay the book down, or else they have too many features, like Sherlock Holmes.”⁷² Eliot’s analogy between human beings and machines is reminiscent of the typist in *The Waste Land* who “smooths her hair with automatic hand,/And puts a record on the gramophone.”⁷³ As Tim Armstrong has argued, the “mechanized body or the body attached to a machine” is a central theme of modernism.⁷⁴ Far from celebrating this penetration of the body by emerging technologies, Eliot bemoans the lost era of the fallible detective who solved crimes unaided by modern means.

In his review of *The Moonstone* in the American magazine the *Dial*, Gilbert Seldes agreed with Eliot that contemporary detectives lacked the personality of a Sergeant Cuff.⁷⁵ Seldes had known Eliot for a long time (they first met at Harvard in 1912) and as the managing editor of the *Dial* between 1921 and 1924,

69 Eliot, ‘Wilkie Collins and Dickens’ (see above, n. 63).

70 It is probable that Bruce L. Richmond, editor of the *TLS*, asked for this delay, so that Eliot’s article would be seen as original and exclusive rather than an advertisement for the forthcoming World’s Classics edition. Milford mentions his negotiation with Richmond in his letter to Eliot, 3 May 1927 (see above, n. 55).

71 Eliot, ‘Introduction’ (see above, n. 67), p. xii.

72 Ibid., p. xii.

73 Eliot, *The Waste Land and Other Poems* (London: Faber and Faber, 1999), p. 32.

74 Tim Armstrong, *Modernism, Technology, and the Body: A Cultural Study* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1998), p. 86.

75 Gilbert Seldes, ‘Mr Eliot’s Favourite,’ *Dial*, November 1928, 437–40, there 438.

Seldes oversaw the publication of *The Waste Land* in the magazine.⁷⁶ An early admirer of Eliot's and Joyce's work, he nevertheless enjoyed popular culture. A few months before reviewing the *Moonstone*, Seldes had written on *Fourteen Great Detective Stories*, an anthology published in the Modern Library series.⁷⁷ He even wrote his own detective stories, under the penname of Foster Johns. As Michael Kammen puts it, Seldes "never ceased to believe that high culture and popular culture could beneficially converge."⁷⁸

Drawing on Eliot's introduction, Seldes deplored that writers like S.S. Van Dine considered a murder as essential to the detective novel: "In *The Moonstone* the diamond itself is made interesting by the prologue giving its bloody history and giving, as Mr Eliot says, the sense of fatality for the whole book."⁷⁹ In an endnote, Seldes explained that he had already publicly disagreed with Van Dine on this issue.⁸⁰ Eliot's foreword thus allowed him to bring new arguments to this on-going discussion. In short, Milford's plan to have *The Moonstone* "properly discussed" had been entirely fulfilled: thanks to its preface, the book re-emerged, both in Britain and in the United States, as central to the canon of detective fiction.

The title of the review, "Mr Eliot's Favourite," highlights the aura of the writer, whose name was enough to attract the attention of readers. Like Hollywood stars advertising their favourite soap, Eliot's recommendation of a particular book was a guarantee of increased sales. This explains why his introduction was mentioned on many, if not all advertisements for the World's Classics.⁸¹ Although *The Moonstone* was not a quick success like *Ghosts & Marvels* and *Crime & Detection*, it sold steadily over a long period of time (Appendix 1). The book was still available in the series in the mid-1960s, with a dust jacket that referred to the introduction by T.S. Eliot (Figure 4.3). Overall, Milford made an excellent bargain by paying fifteen guineas for a preface that continued to boost the sales and cultural prestige of the series for several decades.⁸²

Eliot's introduction has been so enduring in part because of its striking statements that can be turned into blurbs. An editor himself, Eliot was known

76 Chinitz, *Eliot and the Cultural Divide* (see above, n. 64), p. 60.

77 Gilbert Seldes, 'Extra Good Ones,' *Dial*, June 1928, pp. 519–21; Jaillant (see above, n. 1).

78 Michael G. Kammen, *The Lively Arts: Gilbert Seldes and the Transformation of Cultural Criticism in the United States* (New York: Oxford UP, 1996), p. 10.

79 Seldes, 'Extra Good Ones' (see above, n. 68), 439.

80 *Ibid.*, 440.

81 See for example, *Times Literary Supplement*, 8 March 1928; 22 March 1928 and 22 November 1928.

82 Milford to Eliot, 31 January 1927 (see above, n. 55).

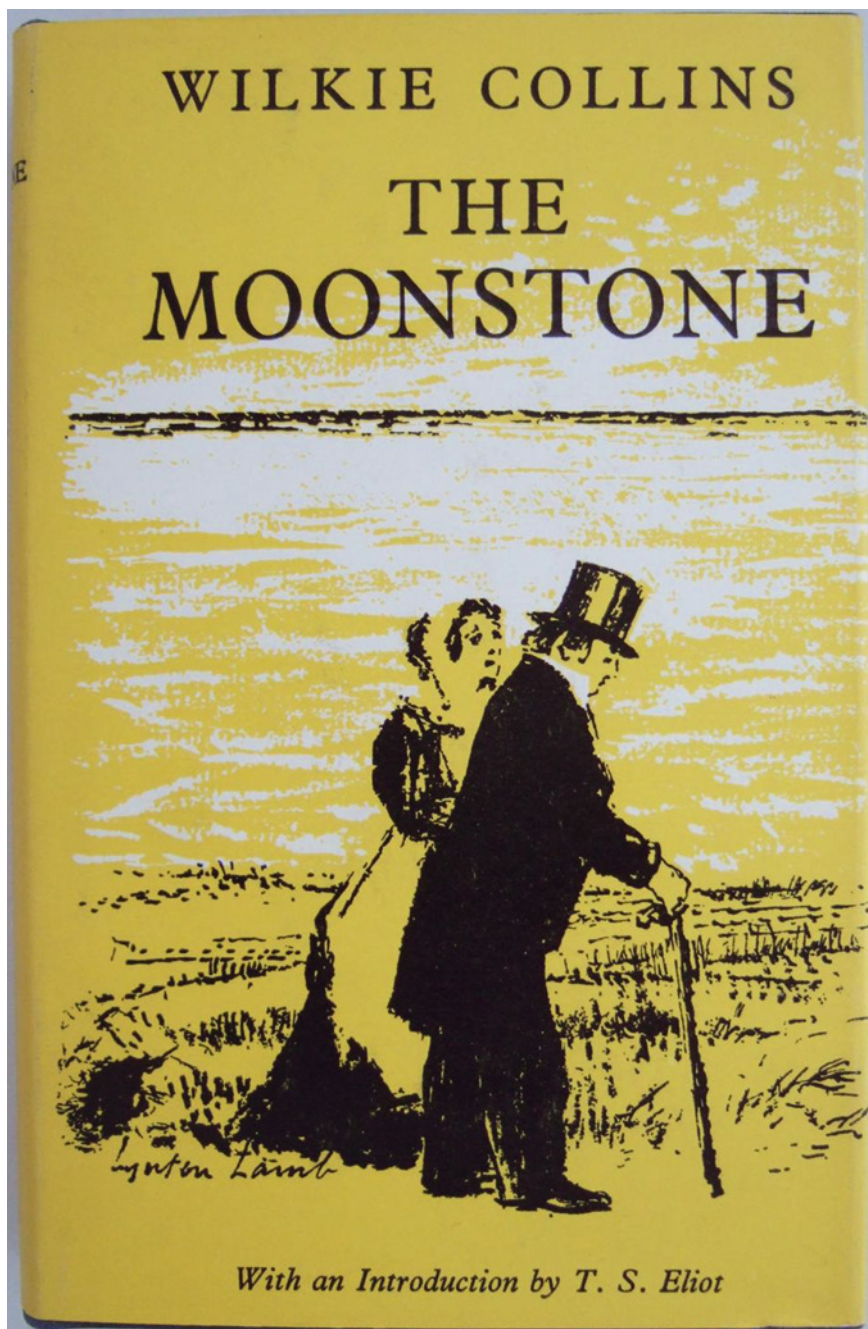


FIGURE 4.3 *Dust jacket, The Moonstone, Oxford World's Classics (c. 1966)*

BY PERMISSION OF OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

for his business sense, and he often wrote blurbs for Faber and Faber book-jackets.⁸³ He was certainly aware that a phrase such as "the first, the longest, and the best of modern English detective novels" (repeated twice in the introduction) could boost the sales of *The Moonstone*. However, Eliot probably felt that such enthusiastic declarations had to be used cautiously. Too many introductions, with too many "best" and "greatest," would have a decreasing effect on readers, and could even endanger his position as a consecrated writer. In the preface to Djuna Barnes's *Nightwood* (1937), Eliot declared:

When the question is raised, of writing an introduction to a book of a creative order, I always feel that the few books worth introducing are exactly those which it is an impertinence to introduce. I have already committed two such impertinences; this is the third, and if it is not the last no one will be more surprised than myself.⁸⁴

Here, Eliot gave the image of a modest writer, who had no authority to judge literary masterpieces. The purpose of the introduction, Eliot said, was simply to encourage the reader to read the book. In other words, a good preface was nothing more than an expanded blurb. "In describing *Nightwood* for the purpose of attracting readers to the English edition," Eliot explained, "I said that it would 'appeal primarily to readers of poetry.' This is well enough for the brevity of advertisement, but I am glad to take this opportunity to amplify it a little."⁸⁵ Eliot's introductions can therefore be seen as advertising materials that would circulate his name and help increase the sales of the books.

Virginia Woolf's Introduction to *Sentimental Journey*

One year after approaching Eliot, Humphrey Milford wrote to Virginia Woolf about the proposed World's Classics edition of Laurence Sterne's *Sentimental Journey*. "I should be delighted if you would consent to write a recommendatory introduction for the 'common reader,'" declared Milford.⁸⁶ Ironically, this

83 Matthew Evans, 'Guru-in-Chief,' *Guardian*, 6 June 2009 [accessed 8 May 2014], <http://www.theguardian.com/books/2009/jun/06/t-s-eliot-faber-matthew-evans>.

84 Eliot, 'Introduction' to *Nightwood*, by Djuna Barnes, 2nd ed. (London: Faber and Faber, 1963), pp. 1–7 (p. 1).

85 Ibid., pp. 1–2.

86 Milford to Woolf, 6 January 1928. Oxford, OUP, File *Sentimental Journey*, Ref: 010120 Box: OP1365.

ordinary reader could be reached through a series published by Oxford University Press and edited by an Oxford-educated man. It seems surprising that Woolf, who deeply resented the authority of university men, would have contributed to a series so much associated with an elitist academic system. For Woolf, the “common reader” differed “from the critic and the scholar”: “He reads for his own pleasure rather than to impart knowledge or correct the opinions of others.”⁸⁷ Woolf thought that readers should make their own decisions on the value of a text, without any guidance from so-called “experts.” So why did she agree to write not one, but two introductions to cheap editions published by Oxford World’s Classics and the Modern Library in 1928? In my monograph on the Modern Library, I argue that Woolf wanted to widen her audience in the United States.⁸⁸ This chapter develops my argument by looking at the Oxford World’s Classics, a series well distributed in the United States.

Woolf, who had started reviewing books for the *Times Literary Supplement* in her early twenties, was already familiar with the World’s Classics series. In 1917, she praised the series’ publication of Tolstoy’s *The Cossacks and Other Tales of the Caucasus*. She agreed with the translators, Louise and Aylmer Maude, that Tolstoy was “the greatest of Russia’s writers.”⁸⁹ Woolf’s attraction to Russian literature would lead her to take language lessons, and even contribute to translations of books published by The Hogarth Press.⁹⁰ Her essay “Modern Fiction” (reprinted in the World’s Classics in 1933) also celebrated the influence of Russian writers on Anglophone literary modernism.

In addition to Russian literature, Woolf often wrote about her interest in Sterne’s work. As early as 1905 she described *Sentimental Journey* as a pioneering book, well suited for contemporary readers: “Sterne, when he invented the title of *Sentimental Journey*, not only christened but called into existence a class of book which seems to grow more popular the more we travel and the more sentimental we become.”⁹¹ Four years later, Woolf wrote a long review of Sterne’s biography which was published on the front page of the *Times Literary Supplement*.⁹² In Woolf’s critical writings, Sterne appears as one of the first truly modern English writers. In 1919, she wrote: “English fiction from Sterne to

87 Virginia Woolf, *The Common Reader* (London: Hogarth Press, 1925), p. 11.

88 Jaillant (see above, n. 1).

89 Woolf, ‘Tolstoy’s “The Cossacks,”’ *Times Literary Supplement*, 1 February 1917, p. 55.

90 See Rebecca Beasley, ‘On Not Knowing Russian: The Translations of Virginia Woolf and S.S. Kotelianskii,’ *Modern Language Review* 108.1 (2013), pp. 1–29.

91 Woolf, ‘Journeys in Spain,’ *Times Literary Supplement*, 26 May 1905, p. 167.

92 Woolf, ‘Sterne. Rev. of *The Life and Times of Laurence Sterne*, by Wilbur L. Cross,’ *Times Literary Supplement*, 12 August, 1909, p. 1.

Meredith bears witness to our natural delight in humour and comedy, in the beauty of earth, in the activities of the intellect, and in the splendour of the body."⁹³ Considering Woolf's well-documented admiration for Sterne, it is not surprising that E.M. Forster suggested, in his *Aspects of the Novel* (1927), that there was a strong affinity between the two writers.⁹⁴

Milford, who had included Forster's essay "Philo's Little Trip" in his *Selected Modern English Essays* (1925), probably got the idea to contact Woolf after reading *Aspects of the Novel*. In Milford's correspondence and in the World's Classics catalogue, Forster and Woolf are often linked together. In 1929, Milford asked Forster to write the introduction to Jane Austen's *Persuasion* in the World's Classics, and sent him "a copy of one of the latest volumes, the *Sentimental Journey* with Virginia Woolf's introduction."⁹⁵ Forster declined, but his work later appeared alongside Woolf's in *Selected Modern English Essays, Second Series* (1932) and in *English Critical Essays, Twentieth Century* (1933). In bringing the names of Forster, Woolf and Eliot to his catalogue, Milford therefore updated the image of the World's Classics, from a traditional series of classics to a modernist institution of a sort.

The presence of Woolf also signalled a timid turn towards more women in the series. Although the early World's Classics had included the works of Charlotte Brontë, George Eliot, Jane Austen and Elizabeth Gaskell, those who wrote introductions were, with very few exceptions, men. For instance, Theodore Watts-Dunton wrote the preface to Brontë's *The Professor* and to Eliot's *Works III* (both published in 1906, shortly after Henry Frowde took over the series). However, Frowde was not hostile to having women write prefaces. When he was planning to add Washington Irving's *A Chronicle of the Conquest of Granada*, he contacted Gertrude Atherton, a prolific American writer. As Frowde explained, the World's Classics books "have a very large circulation and many distinguished authors are consequently willing to contribute introductions although the fee I am able to offer is so small."⁹⁶ Atherton seemed unimpressed, and never contributed to the series. The gender imbalance of the World's Classics list did not change much in the following years. Milford thus refused to publish Mary Wollstonecraft's *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*, with an introduction by George Catlin (Vera Brittain's husband). "In England,

93 Woolf, 'Modern Novels,' *Times Literary Supplement*, 10 April, 1919, p. 189. This article was later reprinted under the title 'Modern Fiction.'

94 E.M. Forster, *Aspects of the Novel*, ed. Oliver Stallybrass (London: Penguin, 2005), pp. 34–7.

95 Milford to Forster, 11 October 1929 (see above, n. 3).

96 Frowde to Atherton, 15 April 1907 (see above, n. 22).

at least," Milford told Catlin, "women have secured political equality, and I believe very few of us can no longer feel any strong interest in the subject."⁹⁷ Despite this lack of interest in the suffrage movement, Milford slightly increased the representation of women in the World's Classics. Indeed, his collaboration with Woolf in 1928 was followed by multiple attempts to add introductions by Rebecca West and Edith Sitwell.⁹⁸ From 1931, Milford also reprinted several novels by Constance Holme, the first living female author to join the series. In addition, Phyllis Jones edited *English Critical Essays, Twentieth Century* (1933), which included essays by Woolf and Eliot. Although the World's Classics remained a male-dominated series, it was no longer closed to contemporary female authors and contributors.

After receiving Milford's letter in January 1928, Woolf asked him to confirm that she would be able to publish a version of the introduction in America before it came out in book form.⁹⁹ Milford replied that since the World's Classics edition would also be sold in the United States, he would prefer it if the article did not appear "long in advance of the book."¹⁰⁰ He was perhaps thinking of Eliot's *TLS* article on Wilkie Collins and Dickens, published so long before the publication of *The Moonstone* that it could not be used to advertise the book. When it became clear that Woolf's essay would appear in September in the *New York Herald Tribune*, Milford asked that the editors mentioned that it was a reprint of the introduction to *Sentimental Journey*.¹⁰¹ "Whether they do so or not you will no doubt be able to make use of the article to boost our edition," wrote Milford to the American branch of Oxford University Press.¹⁰² In short, the publication of the introduction in America was beneficial to Woolf (who was eager to increase her audience there) but also to the World's Classics, a series with global ambitions.

In October 1928, three weeks after the release of the *New York Herald Tribune* article, the publisher Harcourt, Brace & Co. brought out the first American edition of *Orlando* with a first printing of 6,350 copies.¹⁰³ The book soon became

97 Milford to Catlin, 12 June 1928 (see above, n. 3).

98 Milford to Secretary Clarendon Press, 15 October 1930 (see above, n. 3); 'ACW' to H.Z. Walck, 6 December 1945. Oxford, OUP, File: Henry James: *The Portrait of a Lady*, Ref: 010149; Box OP 1367.

99 Woolf to Milford, 11 January 1928 (see above, n. 86).

100 Milford to Woolf, 12 January 1928 (see above, n. 3).

101 Milford to Woolf, 16 August 1928 (see above, n. 86).

102 Milford to OUP American Branch, 16 August 1928 (see above, n. 86).

103 B.J. Kirkpatrick and Stuart N. Clarke, *A Bibliography of Virginia Woolf*, 4th ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), p. 63.

Woolf's article was published on 23 September, *Orlando* on 18 October 1928.

a bestseller and contributed to Woolf's growing celebrity in America.¹⁰⁴ In November and December, *Sentimental Journey* and *Mrs Dalloway* were published in the World's Classics and the Modern Library series – and sold to a wide audience of common readers. The British side of Oxford University Press issued *Sentimental Journey* with a first printing of 5,000 copies.¹⁰⁵ Since the World's Classics did not have to pay royalties on the text itself,¹⁰⁶ the edition of *Sentimental Journey* could be sold for only 80 cents in the United States. That was even cheaper than the 95-cent Modern Library edition, which reprinted Woolf's copyrighted novel. The dust jackets of both the World's Classics and Modern Library editions mentioned the introduction by Woolf to increase the appeal of the volumes.¹⁰⁷

The two prefaces present striking similarities. In both cases, Woolf places the reader at the centre of her analysis. In the foreword to *Sentimental Journey*, she writes: "the writer is always haunted by the belief that somehow it must be possible to brush aside the ceremonies and conventions of writing and to speak to the reader as directly as by word of mouth."¹⁰⁸ She argues that Sterne was able to create a conversation with readers, instead of treating them as passive listeners. In the introduction to *Mrs Dalloway*, Woolf gives fragments of interpretation on the text but she frames her discussion in reference to readers: "even so when everything had been brought to the surface, it would still be for the reader to decide what was relevant and what not."¹⁰⁹ Woolf was well aware that a wide public would read these introductions, and she eagerly sought to engage with her new readers.

In January 1929, the *Times Literary Supplement* published a long article on the World's Classics edition of *Sentimental Journey*.¹¹⁰ "As a pocket volume in 'The World's Classics,' to which it has been added by Mr Humphrey Milford with a generous type and margins," declared the reviewer, "the little novel may

104 "There were five re-impressions totalling 14,950 copies between November 1928 and February 1933." Kirkpatrick and Clarke, *A Bibliography of Virginia Woolf* (see above, n. 103), p. 63.

105 Oxford, OUP, Production & Sales figures, *Sentimental Journey*.

106 However, the press paid fifteen guineas to Woolf for the introduction to the World's Classics edition. Milford to Woolf, 6 January 1928 (see above, n. 86).

107 Jaillant (see above, n. 1).

108 Woolf, 'Introduction' to *Sentimental Journey*, by Laurence Sterne [World's Classics] (London: Oxford UP, 1928), pp. v–xvii (p. vii).

109 Virginia Woolf, *The Essays of Virginia Woolf*, eds. Andrew McNeillie and Stuart N. Clarke, 6 vols (London: Hogarth Press, 1966–2012), 4: 549.

110 Arthur Sydney McDowall, 'Mrs Woolf and Sterne,' *Times Literary Supplement*, 10 January 1929, p. 25.

seem to glide by us in a flash.” The article by Arthur Sydney McDowall, entitled “Mrs Woolf and Sterne” focused mainly on the relationship between the two writers. In particular, it explored the modernity of Sterne’s work: “Certainly he might recognize something of himself in the varied sensibility, the personal expressiveness, the audacities of modern fiction.” While Sterne appeared as an ancestor to modern literature, Woolf was placed in the long canon of English literature: “Is there no analogy to Sterne in the undertones of *To the Lighthouse* or the elastic brilliance of *Orlando*?” The World’s Classics series therefore contributed to Woolf’s reputation as a major writer, comparable to Sterne.

Woolf’s collaboration with the World’s Classics was also noticed in the United States. In an article entitled “We Love the Modernists,” the *Christian Science Monitor* stated that the New York office of Oxford University Press had sent them several books, including Sterne’s work.¹¹¹ This package came in response to an earlier article on series of classics that had failed to acknowledge the World’s Classics, which “are authoritatively edited, well printed, neatly bound and cost only 80 cents.” The journalist replied that they had no objection to mentioning the World’s Classics in the newspaper. “Nor had we waited until now to read Virginia Woolf’s introduction to the *Sentimental Journey* in this edition.” The tone suggests that no educated American reader could have missed such an important book. Moreover, the *Washington Post* reviewed *English Critical Essays, Twentieth Century* (1933), which included Woolf’s “Modern Fiction.” “There is nothing stuffy” about the book, stated the reviewer, before referring to the essays as “all very good reading on a quiet night.”¹¹² *English Critical Essays* was also listed among recently added titles in a *New York Times* advertisement, which showed passengers on a steam-ship reading the World’s Classics books (Figure 4.4). Here, the cheap series was associated with leisure, luxury and taste – but also with portability (“a PERFECT POCKET FORMAT”).

Having established her name in the American market, Woolf refused to write another introduction for the World’s Classics and other publisher’s series. In 1930, E.M. Forster declined to introduce Jane Austen’s *Persuasion* (as he told Milford, the more he thought about the book, the more he hated it).¹¹³ Milford then turned to Woolf, who also rejected the offer.¹¹⁴ Shortly after, Woolf refused to write a preface to Anne Thackeray Ritchie’s novels in the Travellers’ Library. “I find these short introductions very difficult to do, and unsatisfactory from

111 L.A. Sloper, ‘Bookman’s Holiday: We Love the Modernists,’ *Christian Science Monitor*, 20 June 1931, p. 10.

112 Theodore Hall, ‘No End of Books,’ *Washington Post*, 10 March 1934, p. 9.

113 Milford to Forster, 14 March 1930 (see above, n. 3).

114 Milford to Secretary Clarendon Press, 21 March 1930. Ibid.

*Wise Travellers Carry
the convenient-sized*

WORLD'S CLASSICS

80c each



... just published

SOME PEOPLE (No. 421)

By HAROLD NICOLSON. "For some years now I have solved the problem of what book to select as a steamer present for a friend by invariably selecting Harold Nicolson's *Some People*. It is **ONE OF THE DELIGHTS OF OUR TIME**, yet there are thousands of fit readers to whom its very name is still unknown. So I welcome its inclusion in the World's Classics in a **PERFECT POCKET FORMAT**."—Ben Ray Redman in the *N. Y. Herald-Tribune*.

Other titles added recently:

No. 405 *Modern English Critical Essays*: Max Beerbohm, Lytton Strachey, Virginia Woolf, E. M. Forster, T. S. Eliot. etc.

No. 371 *Specimen Days in America*, by Walt Whitman.

Nos. 401. 402 *Life of Macaulay*, by Sir G. O. Trevelyan (2 vols.) with a new introduction by G. M. Trevelyan.

Six of the more popular titles:

No. 7 *Kent's Poems*.

No. 10 *Wuthering Heights*, by Emily Brontë. Introduction by H. W. Garrod.

No. 195 *The Mutiny of the Bounty*, by Sir John Barrow.

No. 200 *Dreamthorp* with selections from *Last Leaves*, by Alexander Smith.

No. 390 *The Lonely Plough*, by Constance Holme.

No. 271 *The Warden*, by Anthony Trollope.

Over 400 titles to choose from, beautifully printed on fine paper, cloth bound, only 80 cents per volume.

Ask for complete list, from your bookseller or
OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS: 114 Fifth Avenue, New York

FIGURE 4.4 Advertisement for the World's Classics, New York Times, 3 June 1934

the writer's point of view," she told Jonathan Cape.¹¹⁵ As Hammond notes in her chapter on the World's Classics, "attempts were made – and refusals received – from the 1930s to at least the 1950s."¹¹⁶ In 1950, Milford's successor,

¹¹⁵ Woolf to Cape, 1 May 1931. Reading, University of Reading Special Collections, Jonathan Cape archive, MS 2446. Permission to reproduce by the Society of Authors as the Literary Representative of the Estate of Virginia Woolf and Penguin Random House UK.

¹¹⁶ Hammond, *Reading, Publishing* (see above, n. 4), p. 111 n. 77.

Geoffrey Cumberlege, asked for permission to put a selection from Virginia Woolf's essays in a single volume of the World's Classics. "I think it would be good if some of her representative essays could be made available to a wider public than they may so far have reached," he told Harold Raymond, who now represented The Hogarth Press as an associate company of Chatto & Windus.¹¹⁷ But Leonard Woolf firmly rejected the proposal.¹¹⁸ It seems that for Virginia and her husband, cheap reprint series could bring little to an already-established writer. When Woolf was trying to increase her stature in America, classics series offered her access to a wide market of common readers. But once she had obtained the recognition she was looking for, these series no longer served her purpose and risked competing with the inexpensive editions published by the Hogarth Press.

Although Woolf and Eliot wrote only one preface for the Oxford World's Classics, the books they introduced remained in the series for decades and sold to thousands of readers. Figures are available for the UK market, and show that *Sentimental Journey* and *The Moonstone* sold more than 17,000 and 23,000 copies respectively in the thirty years between 1928 and 1957. It is impossible to give a precise account of the increased sales generated by the modernist writers' introductions, but we do know that during this period, *The Moonstone* sold around 10,000 more copies than *The Woman in White* (which did not feature a new introduction). *Selected Modern English Essays, Second Series* and *English Critical Essays, Twentieth Century* did even better, with nearly 26,000 copies sold between 1932 and 1957 for the former, and 31,000 copies between 1933 and 1957 for the latter (Appendix 1).¹¹⁹ These sales figures were comparable to those of the most successful titles in the series.¹²⁰

The collaboration between modernist writers and the World's Classics had an important cultural impact, not only in Britain but also in America. Eliot's introduction to *The Moonstone* seemed such an effective selling point that it was soon imitated. In 1937, the Modern Library launched its own edition of *The Moonstone* and *The Woman in White* in a single "Giant" volume, with an introduction by Alexander Woollcott. "*The Moonstone* was the first full-length

117 Cumberlege to Raymond, 3 July 1950. Oxford, OUP, Folder World Classic Suggestions, Ref: LOGE 000267 Box LG35.

118 Raymond to Cumberlege, 18 July 1950. Ibid.

119 Oxford, OUP, Production & Sales figures.

120 For example, Henry Fielding's *The Adventures of Joseph Andrews*, with an introduction by L. Rice-Oxley, sold nearly 27,000 copies from 1929 to 1957 (see above, n. 119).

detective novel. It is still the best," declared a blurb by Woolcott printed on the dust jacket. This was, of course, reminiscent of Eliot's "the first, the longest, and the best of modern English detective novels." This phrase and its variant "the first and greatest of English detective novels" have continued to be used in the marketing of *The Moonstone*. The latest edition in the Oxford World's Classics includes it as a blurb on the back cover. In the introduction, John Sutherland also comments on his illustrious predecessor. "Literary pontiff that he was, Eliot was less than well equipped to pronounce on the excellences of pulp fiction," writes Sutherland before arguing that *The Moonstone* is neither the first nor the best detective novel.¹²¹ Eliot's superlatives have nevertheless become intrinsic to *The Moonstone* (even competitors to the World's Classics quote them on marketing materials).¹²² Eliot's praise for *Armada*, which initially appeared in the introduction to *The Moonstone*, is also used for the Penguin edition of the novel.¹²³ Eliot's introduction to the World's Classics edition has helped to sell cheap books for more than eighty years.

This chapter has aimed to highlight a neglected aspect of Woolf's and Eliot's engagement with the interwar marketplace. The World's Classics was far from the avant-garde institutions that we usually associate with modernism – the little review and the small press. The series was not only sold to a large audience, it was also positioned as a conservative, family-friendly enterprise that mostly reprinted out-of-copyright texts. Yet under the leadership of Humphrey Milford, the series became more open to the new art. Woolf and Eliot lent their already well-known names to boost sales of reprints, and they also benefited from their association with a large-scale publishing enterprise (including access to a wide American readership). The World's Classics contributed to transforming the image of these modernist writers from infamous avant-gardists to members of the artistic establishment.

121 John Sutherland, 'Introduction' to *The Moonstone*, by Wilkie Collins [World's Classics] (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2008), pp. vii–xxix (p. vii).

122 See, for example: webpage on Wilkie Collins, *Penguin* [accessed 8 May 2014], <http://www.penguin.co.uk/nf/Author/AuthorPage/0,,1000007536,00.html>.

123 "T.S. Eliot regarded *Armada* as being, after *The Woman in White* and *The Moonstone*, 'the best of Collins's romances.'" Webpage on *Armada*, *Penguin* [accessed 8 May 2014], http://www.penguin.co.uk/nf/Book/BookDisplay/0,,9780140434118,00.html?strSrchSql=armadale%2A/Armadale_Wilkie_Collins.

Appendix 1

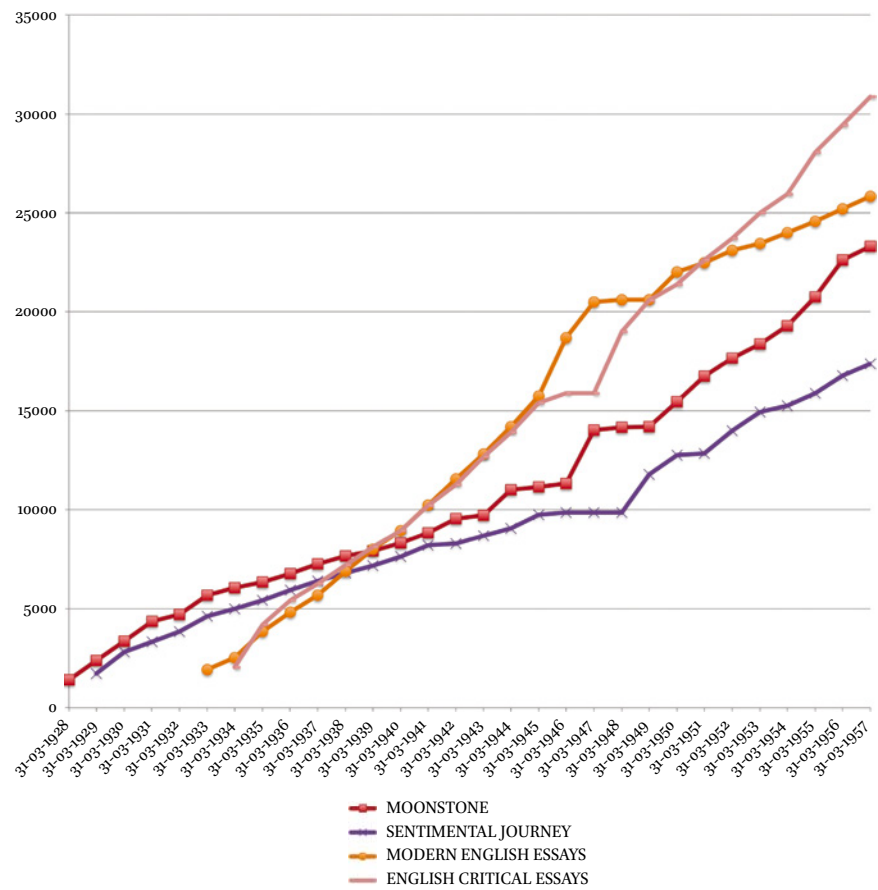


FIGURE 4.5 *Cumulated sales figures, UK: The Moonstone (1928), Sentimental Journey (1928), Selected Modern English Essays, Second Series (1932), English Critical Essays, Twentieth Century (1933)*
MATERIAL REPRODUCED FROM THE OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS ARCHIVE DEPARTMENT. © OUP

PART 2

Genre, Marketing, and Censorship



Literary Success and Popular Romantic Fiction: Ethel M. Dell, a Case Study

David Tanner

Estimation of literary success is of course subjective. Is an author's success measured by a judgement from peers, by money in the bank, or by, as in this case, a volume output as well? This chapter will address some of the background to the phenomenal financial and volume success of Ethel M. Dell's (1881–1939) romantic fiction. Despite being widely read and of significance in popular culture, her work is generally ignored or forgotten, was lampooned by fellow novelists, and vilified in contemporary discourse. Whereas the role played by some romance novelists has been acknowledged – E.M. Hull's *The Sheikh* (1919) for instance is seen to have “not only achieved popularity immediately on publication but also influenced the popular romance novel throughout the twentieth century”¹ – Dell has to all intents been forgotten. Her work remains largely overshadowed by the voices of her contemporaries.

Ethel M. Dell was a recluse and actively avoided marketing herself as a personality, but her formula was successful. As a romantic novelist, she reached a mass reading audience and enjoyed a popularity comparable to other well-known novelists of the time including Elinor Glyn, Florence Barclay, Ruby Ayres and Marie Corelli, an earlier doyenne of the circulating library. Dell's plots included a heady mix of heterosexual and implicit same-sex relationships, sexual deviances, and exotified notions of Empire and masculinity. Her first title published in book form in Britain, *The Way of an Eagle* (1912), underwent 34 impressions and, according to publisher Stanley Unwin, “so substantial were the sales of Ethel M. Dell's novels that there came a moment when T. Fisher Unwin's auditors reported that they were responsible for half of the then very large turnover of the firm.”² As Joseph McAleer has demonstrated, “in 1920 Hutchinson and Hurst & Blackett sold over one million copies of their new 3s. 6d. fiction series” featuring Dell, Arnold Bennett, Cosmo Hamilton and others.³ But what drove Dell's phenomenal commercial success? This chapter will examine how

1 Pamela Regis, *A Natural History of the Romance Novel* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), p. 116.

2 Stanley Unwin, *The Truth about a Publisher: An autobiographical record* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1960), pp. 93–4.

3 Joseph McAleer, *Passion's Fortune. The Story of Mills and Boon* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1999), p. 43.

changes in patterns of book distribution, the use of different publishing media and the creative vehicles of magazine, film, stage and radio were contributory factors to her success. Laurel Brake has commented that “it is a mistake to construct the nineteenth century book as a stand-alone commodity,” and this also applies to the early part of the twentieth century.⁴ A proliferation of media was part of the marketing mix that created such apparent wealth for A.P. Watt (Dell’s literary agent), Fisher Unwin (her initial British publisher) and Dell herself.

When debating the levers for success that Dell employed it is important to set the contemporary literary scene as a benchmark against which her successes were judged. In Nicola Beauman’s influential reading of the woman’s novel between the wars, *A Very Great Profession* (1983), Dell is seen “as a pleasure giver pure and simple. She seems to have felt no need for heart searching about her merit or her role as a writer.”⁵ Dell was pathologically shy.⁶ She did not speak to the Press nor release photographs of herself, but at the peak of her popularity she was earning about £25,000 a year (approximately £4,000,000 per year in today’s values).⁷ George Orwell writing in 1946 stated that £1,000 (£89,000 at today’s values) was the best income for a writer so “he can live in reasonable comfort.” Later in the same article he wrote that, “In a way it is easier for people like Ethel M. Dell to avoid prostitution than it is for a serious writer.”⁸ This was an acknowledgement of Dell’s financial success but also a swipe at her literary credentials. Her earning power no doubt rankled many contemporary writers.

While Dell’s earnings are a measure of success, in literary circles at the time she was often discounted. Writing in his essay “In Defence of the Novel” (1936), Orwell quotes Hilaire Belloc’s opinion that the novel is a “contemptible form of art,” but to Orwell the issue was the novel’s “lapse in prestige.”⁹ Dell, who according to Orwell was a party to this decline in prestige, wrote material that appealed to a lowbrow market. In *Keep the Aspidistra Flying* (1936), Orwell portrays the

4 Laurel Brake, ‘Star Turn? Magazine, Part-Issue, Serialization,’ *Victorian Periodicals Review* 34.3 (2001), 210.

5 Nicola Beauman, *A Very Great Profession: The Woman’s Novel 1914–39* (London: Virago, 2004), p. 183.

6 Ethel M. Dell to Henry McClelland, 3 September 1925. Glasgow, The Mitchell Library. MS 152/31.

7 *News Chronicle*, 19 September 1939, p. 5. On Dell’s death this paper reported her earnings as at £25,000 a year. This figure has been extrapolated to today’s values using an historical calculator available at www.measuringworth.com.

8 George Orwell, ‘The Cost of Letters,’ *Horizon* (September 1946), 157.

9 George Orwell, ‘In Defence of the Novel,’ in *The Collected Essays, Journalism and Letters of George Orwell*, eds. Sonia Orwell and Ian Angus, 4 vols. (London: Secker & Warburg, 1968), 1:281.

Dell reader as being neither well educated nor sophisticated.¹⁰ Continuing his critique in 'In Defence of the Novel,' Orwell castigates the "lazily eulogistic reviewer" as "sinking his standards to a depth at which, say, Ethel M. Dell's *Way of an Eagle* is a fairly good book."¹¹ Unlike Florence Barclay who, according to Mary Hammond, with her first work *The Rosary* (1909) "claimed a new high ground that refused to apologise for the mere fact of popularity," Dell did not pretend to write art and, as with so much popular fiction, her work was written and read for other reasons and values.¹² Paul Fussell refers to Orwell as being "fascinated by the pathology of bad taste."¹³ Bad taste to whom we might ask, certainly not to Dell's substantial mass readership? In 1920, her *The Lamp in the Desert* (1919) was in the top ten best sellers list of all novels in the United States.¹⁴

P.G. Wodehouse's character Rosie M. Banks was seemingly modelled on Dell. The lampooned style and titles of Wodehouse's character are remarkably similar to that of Dell's novels. In *Carry on Jeeves* (1925), the romantic novelist Rosie M. Banks is referred to as the "author of some of the most pronounced and widely read tripe ever put on the market."¹⁵ The dig continues in *The Inimitable Jeeves* (1923) as Dell's prose style is satirized in dialogue between the characters, "for I'd hardly reached the bit where their lips met in a long, slow kiss and everything was still but for the gentle sighing of the breeze in the laburnum."¹⁶ Yet in contrast to Orwell's contempt and Wodehouse's mocking, some educated readers could respond to Dell favourably, after a fashion. The writer Rebecca West, a humorous and penetrating critic, wrote in the *New Statesman* shortly after the publication of Dell's *Charles Rex* (1922), that:

I am amazed to find that I can blush . . . For they are caused by a volume named *Charles Rex*, by a writer named Miss Ethel M. Dell, who has received every sort of acclamation save only the morning stars singing together; and I doubt if one worries about the lack of super-terrestrial recognition when one can sell nearly half-a-million copies of a single novel. And in every line that is written about him [*Charles Rex*] one hears the thudding,

10 George Orwell, *Keep the Aspidistra Flying* (New York: Knopf, 2011), pp. 259–61.

11 Orwell, 'In Defence of the Novel' (see above, n. 9), p. 284.

12 Mary Hammond, *Reading, Publishing and the Formation of Literary Taste in England, 1880–1914* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), p. 5.

13 Paul Fussell, 'George Orwell,' *Sewanee Review* 93.2 (1985), 234–5.

14 Alice Payne Hackett, *Fifty Years of Best Sellers, 1895–1945* (New York: Bowker, 1945); quoted in L. Carnowsky, *Library Quarterly* 16.2 (1946), 175.

15 P.G. Wodehouse, *Carry on Jeeves* (London: Arrow, 2008), p. 227.

16 P.G. Wodehouse, *The Inimitable Jeeves* (London: Everyman, 2007), p. 236.

thundering hooves of a certain steed at full gallop; of the true Tosh-horse . . . Miss Dell is a queen. She rides the Tosh-horse hell-for-leather.¹⁷

Rebecca West blushed as did many readers, transported into a sexual fantasy by an author who herself would seem to have been without any sexual relationships until she married at the age of 39, over twenty years after her first work was published.

Dell did not assist her literary reputation with self-denigrating comments. In *The Electric Torch* (1934) as the heroine, Claire, keeps a suitor at bay, the latter refers to this as a “typical Ethel M. Dell moment.”¹⁸ Again in *Juice of the Pomegranate* (1938), we find the following scene:

Hello! Here’s a find! Now we shall see what the brainy Blanche reads in her leisure moments! Something she’s none too proud of obviously! Great Scott! It’s an Ethel M. Dell!¹⁹

In the next scene, appearing to compound the self-denigration, Dell writes, “My Lady never leaves a Dell book lying around for visitors to see, madam, so I took it away.”²⁰ Can this self-denigration be considered as part of her marketing mix, demonstrating a disdain for the literary world, or as Nicola Beauman has suggested, as a shared joke with the reader?

Dell lived for almost half of her publishing life (39 years) with a dominant, single, and glamorous elder sister whom she supported financially, and the other half with a retired brevetted army Lieutenant Colonel who used her resources to make model trains and boats. Although outwardly living a life of dull gentility, she was under financial pressure from her brother and sister, suffered religious polarity within her family (her father was a Catholic and her mother a fervent Protestant), was perhaps of ambivalent sexuality, suffered a manipulative sister-in-law, and had to cope with her own and her sister’s illnesses and related knowledge of drug use, which she explored in *The Electric Torch*. Can one write about romance without living it? Elinor Glyn wrote in her autobiography that she “drew out of my imagination, material to satisfy my own unfulfilled longing for romantic love.”²¹ There was a polarity between Dell’s work and her life: a possible lack of fulfilment which could have been the spark that ignited her creativity when she escaped into her

17 Rebecca West, ‘Notes on Novels,’ *New Statesman* 19, 16 September 1922, pp. 638, 640.

18 Ethel M. Dell, *The Electric Torch* (London: Cassell, 1934), p. 185.

19 Ethel M. Dell, *The Juice of the Pomegranate* (London: Cassell, 1954), p. 53.

20 *Ibid.*, p. 56.

21 Elinor Glyn, *Romantic Adventure: Being the Autobiography of Elinor Glyn* (New York: Dutton, 1937), p. 131.

own world, working through the night in her study which – according to those whom worked for and knew her – she kept locked.²²

The Commercial and Marketing Environment

With a talent for writing romantic and erotically suggestive stories, Dell found a niche market for female readers. After publishing her first magazine short story in 1899, in 1901 Dell signed with the literary agent James B. Pinker (1863–1922), whose clients had included Henry James, Joseph Conrad, Arnold Bennett and, briefly, Oscar Wilde.²³ This relationship lasted until she changed agents to A.P. Watt in 1912. Watt, founded in 1875, represented clients including Thomas Hardy, Rudyard Kipling, H.G. Wells, P.G. Wodehouse and John Buchan, and he became Dell's commercial mentor and friend, inheriting her literary estate upon her death. Unlike so-called "library house" publishers such as Charles Boon (of Mills and Boon), Watt did not set any ground rules for his authors. The lowbrow creative content was Dell's choice, with stories sold in advance of a title or even a synopsis.

Dell's writing career no doubt started long before her first short story was published in 1899 when she was 18 years old. This first title, *A Repentant Rogue*, appeared in *The Royal Magazine* in the UK and was published in *Everybody's Magazine* in the United States the following year. By 1912, the year of her seminal success with *The Way of an Eagle*, Dell had sold the copyrights to 28 titles.²⁴ It was not unusual in the Edwardian period for new authors to sell their copyrights, but as a bestseller and having placed her affairs in the hands of Watt, Dell came to regret her early commercial decisions. In *The Electric Torch* we find the comment: "By the way, that woman has my sympathy if ever a woman had. She is branded for life on account of her juvenile efforts of umpteen years ago."²⁵ As she wrote to the Society of Authors in 1912: "I know that my magazine contracts in the past have been deplorable, but what can one do? An unknown author has no choice."²⁶ The

22 Madge Philips to Patsy Churchill, February 1975, letter in Author's private collection. Faith Brown (Dell's cook in 1938), November 1975, questionnaire and letter in Author's private collection. Transcript of interview between Nurse Talbot (resident nurse initially for Dell's Mother) and Penelope Dell, in Author's private collection.

23 Ethel M. Dell to James B. Pinker, 10 December 1901. New York Public Library, The Berg Collection, Doc. 175. Illinois, Northwestern University Library, Charles Deering McCormick Library of Special Collections, Papers of the Pinker Literary, Artistic, Dramatic, and Film Agency, p. 1.

24 University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, A.P. Watt Records Collection, ref. 11036.

25 Dell, *Electric Torch* (see above, n. 18), p. 185.

26 Ethel M. Dell to the Society of Authors, 26 March 1912. London, British Library Manuscripts. MS 56590.

commercial opportunities presented to both Dell and Watt were blighted initially by this sale of her rights, which, over a period of time, were re-purchased.

Watt saw the commercial potential and benefits of a multi-media approach and aggressively sold Dell's works into magazines. Parallel or similar magazine content to Dell's stories was not necessarily a prerequisite for securing publication as long as there was female readership. At least eighteen magazine stories were published before *The Way of an Eagle* and at least three of these early publications appeared in the United States.²⁷ *The Way of an Eagle* was itself released by two different publishing houses in the United States and serialised in *The Red Magazine* in Britain before 1912. These early successes must have influenced Watt's views of Dell's commercial potential and it was he that signed her up, after several rejections, with Thomas Fisher Unwin for the publication of *The Way of an Eagle* in hardback in June 1912 (Watt had not been involved in the distribution of the material either in the United States or to *The Red Magazine*).

Thomas Fisher Unwin accepted the work in their First Novel Library series. Their multiple attempts to sharpen *The Way of an Eagle* by reducing the original manuscript from 300,000 to 90,000 words shows considerable patience, no doubt brought about by a realisation of the commercial opportunity demonstrated by volume sales through *The Red Magazine* and Dell's success in the United States.²⁸ The sale of rights to magazines created a focus which was a pivotal part of Watt's strategy during Dell's lifetime (after her death, Watt was still pushing for magazine sales in Australia in 1953). It is in this context that we see the importance of the marketing mix, with serial publication in magazines exposing Dell's work to a mass reading audience and a wide franchise of potential story buyers and book-borrowers. Dell's stories appeared in an eclectic selection of mainly female-orientated publications ranging from *Love Stories*, a twopenny weekly, through *Eve's Own Stories* and *Peg's Companion*, *Weldon's Ladies Journal* and *Women's Weekly*, to the more substantial story magazine *Strand* which sold at one shilling. With the exception of the American *McCall's* and *Strand* magazine, the reader profile was at the lower end of the social scale where fiction magazines constituted key reading matter.²⁹ Of Dell's total output of 99 titles published, at least 73

27 Multiple source bibliographical data: <http://www.philsp.com/homeville>; Author's private collection; University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, A.P. Watt Records Collection ref. 11036; www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk; New York Public Library, The Berg Collection, James B. Pinker correspondence.

28 Unwin, *The Truth about a Publisher* (see above, n. 2), pp. 93–4.

29 See Christopher Hilliard, 'The Twopenny Library: The Book Trade, Working-Class Readers, and "Middlebrow" Novels in Britain, 1930–42,' *Twentieth-Century British History* 25.2 (2014), 199–220, there 199–200.

were supported by magazine exposure. 78 titles appeared in hard-copy book form, 23 in film, four in theatre, and one on the radio.

The expansion of the film industry in the 1920s was fundamental to Dell's marketing and played an important part in increasing her reader franchise. In 1926, Iris Barry stated that the "one thing never to be lost sight of in considering the cinema is that it exists for the purpose of pleasing women. Three out of every four cinema audiences are women."³⁰ A later study undertaken of cinema goers in the 1930s indicates a fairly even balance of male/female attendance, but within this found that a higher percentage of women than men (89.4 to 76.1%) indicated reading as another leisure activity.³¹ In Britain, the Stoll Picture Company produced eighteen interpretations of Dell's titles from 1919 to 1922 as part of the Stoll Eminent British Author series that also included Arthur Conan Doyle, A.E.W. Mason and Edgar Wallace. Key to this were eminently bankable authors and stories. Stoll understood the importance and commercial value of the demographic imbalance created by the First World War, and saw the potential of targeting the female viewer.

Unlike her contemporary Elinor Glyn, who as Alexis Weedon comments, "mastered the business of writing for different media to an unusual, and perhaps unique extent for the time," Dell did not write the screenplays of her work but sought creative control of the end product.³² Dennis Gifford reported that Maurice Elvey (Stoll film producer) recalled that Dell was more interested in creative control than commercial considerations.³³ This might well have been the impression given, but a study of her commercial correspondence suggests that Dell was also astute financially. She saw the financial potential of this new market and even acquired shares in the Stoll Picture Company, despite her 10% commission on box office takings.³⁴ Five of the film titles were produced in the US, and, as in Britain, they supported the magazine and book sales. Theatre and radio meanwhile were not mainstream marketing activities for Dell. The theatrical productions of her works received almost wholly negative reviews on their short runs in London, but generally more positive reviews in the counties. This does of course suggest that Dell's primary fan base was not those who would frequent theatres in London's West End.

30 Iris Barry, *Lets go to the Pictures* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1926), p. 59.

31 See Annette Kuhn, 'Cinema-going in Britain in the 1930s: Report of a Questionnaire Survey,' *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television* 19.4 (1999), 531–43.

32 Alexis Weedon, 'Elinor Glyn's System of Writing,' *Publishing History* 60 (2006), 31–50.

33 Denis Gifford, 'The Early Memories of Maurice Elvey,' *Griffithiana: Journal of Film History* 60/61 (1997), 117–19.

34 Nathalie Morris, 'An Eminent British Studio: The Stoll Film Companies and British Cinema 1918–1928' (PhD thesis, University of East Anglia, 2009).

The large run of successful film tie-ins of Dell's works in the early interwar period helped to boost her renown in the lending libraries where, as George Orwell noted, "you see people's real tastes, not their pretended ones: people buy books for mixed motives of pretension or display but they then borrow the books that they really want to read."³⁵ Developments in distribution and increased public library provision in rural areas after the 1919 Public Libraries Act gave more readers access to Dell's work in book form.³⁶ Her establishment in film and popular culture contributed to the popularity of her work in the twopenny libraries which sprang up in newsagents and tobacconists throughout the 1930s to cater for a working-class readership, further anchoring Dell's name to a lowbrow reading public. In Ronald F. Batty's treatise on the management of a twopenny library he clearly defines the socio-economic status of its patrons: "it is far easier to get matey over the last book that Mae West has written than two ounces of almond jelly."³⁷ Confirming the importance of this informal shop-space environment for Dell, Batty includes her in his "short check list of the most popular twopenny library authors."³⁸

The W.H. Smith house magazine *Newsbasket* which surveyed "their monthly trade in its principal railway bookstalls and urban bookshops" stated that Dell's work "stood out in the popular fiction and new edition categories."³⁹ Her provincial audience was important and targeted advertising was used in regional newspapers. During Dell's writing career only four areas in Britain (the East Midlands, South West England, Yorkshire and Humber, and Tayside) accounted for nearly 90% of the advertising volumes supporting her work, a total of 1,051 advertisements. In comparison, in the "serious" national press *The Times* carried only 90 advertisements.⁴⁰ This bias would also indicate targeting for a lowbrow readership.

The Empire, Masculinity and Moralism

Dell wrote upon many themes but her work is particularly associated with ideas of Empire. The historian Edward John Thompson wrote in 1925 that, "The

35 George Orwell, 'Bookshop Memories' (1936), quoted in Nicola Humble, *The Feminine Middlebrow Novel, 1920s to 1950s* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2001), p. 12.

36 Thomas Kelly, *A History of Public Libraries in Great Britain, 1845-1975* (London: The Library Association, 1975), p. 518.

37 Ronald F. Batty, *How to Run a Twopenny Library* (London: Gifford, 1938), p. 11.

38 *Ibid.*, p. 91.

39 Philip Waller, *Writers, Readers, & Reputations: Literary Life in Britain, 1870-1918* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2006), p. 679.

40 This data was established through a digital analysis at www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk of all British regional newspapers in the period.

tension existing in India has been bad for our race; and a conception of Indian life based on the writings of Ethel M. Dell or Maud Diver, or even Kipling has not helped."⁴¹ In novels such as *The Way of an Eagle*, *The Lamp in the Desert*, and *The Electric Torch*, Dell uses India as an exotic veneer. Life in the Empire of her stories is not an aspiration but a largely exotic and unpleasant experience and this unpleasantness was an important part of her orientalist narrative. These narratives are stories in India but not of India. *The Lamp in the Desert* paints a socially correct environment for a single British woman in a colonial barracks town of this time, but of Indians there are only four characters and one is a deformed Kashmiri beggar who turns out to be British. The others are a large turbaned Sikh improbably called Peter who behaves with "dog-like fidelity," and a "furtive and avaricious" stall holder with an assistant who has an "insincere and obsequious demeanour."⁴² A nameless group of coolies "huddled in the open space before her, like an assembly of monkeys holding a discussion" completes the canvass. India is an environment that strains the fibres of Britishness and one has to "stick to it like a Briton."⁴³ In *The Electric Torch* there is a mad Hindu wallah who on the same page is then described as a mad Pathan.⁴⁴ Pathans are of course Muslim.

Dell had access to Rudyard Kipling's works, but the India of her stories is the product of her own ill-informed representations. In the main there is a correct use of Hindi terminology, but her readers were not to know that "atcha" should be "accha" and that "shikaree" is a sportsman whereas "shikari" is a shooting boat.⁴⁵ There is here a degree of phonetic misunderstanding, indicating that Dell had engaged in albeit limited discussion with someone who possessed Indian knowledge. *The Way of an Eagle*, her first major work, demonstrated her adherence to Kipling with her use of the term *Bandar-log*, Kipling's monkey people from *The Jungle Book* (1894), as a description for the European hero who is in need of a wash. The illustrations in *The Way of an Eagle* with the exception of two could be related to an aspirational, well-heeled country house environment in England. They were neither portraying the plains nor a hill station.

Dell never travelled to India and only left Britain once so was presumably under the influence of what she read or heard: perhaps from Rudyard Kipling with whom she shared an agent and an accountant, as well as the popular novelists and writers of colonial India including Flora Annie Steel, Maud Diver,

41 Edward John Thompson, *The Other Side of the Medal* (London: Hogarth, 1925), p. 114.

42 Ethel M. Dell, *The Lamp in the Desert* (London: Hutchinson, 1919), p. 161, 291.

43 Ibid., p. 60, 95.

44 Dell, *Electric Torch* (see above, n. 18), p. 92.

45 Ibid., p. 28, 78.

Alice Perrin and almost certainly the prolific Bithia Mary Croker.⁴⁶ Dell's portrait of and ideals relating to notions of Empire were likely developed from her knowledge of such authors, the press and her reading of the *Illustrated London News* with its important visualisations of Empire.

In Bithia Mary Croker's *Diana Barrington* the description of the narrator's husband as an ideal is not dissimilar to Dell's male character profiles and also those as portrayed by E.M. Hull and Elinor Glyn:

I should hate a man who took an hour over his tie, lolled on a sofa reading poetry, or sat hand in hand with me looking at the moon, and criticized my dress like a milliner. I like to know that my husband is a man, and not an old woman. He shoots tigers, plays polo, and rides races, with my full approval.⁴⁷

As Allen Greenberger has pointed out in his study of the typical British image of India in this period, "its sheer pluck that counts, nothing else – the pluck to hang on and worry, worry, worry, till you get your heart's desire."⁴⁸ In *The Way of an Eagle* we learn that "above all else, it was thought that the Englishman in India should not be a shirker."⁴⁹ The ideal English hero in this popular literature of the period "works like an ox" and is "indomitable, unfailing, and always fulfilling his duties with machine-like regularity, stern, impenetrable, hard as granite."⁵⁰ As Greenberger caustically adds, "to a large extent he is only an overgrown public schoolboy."⁵¹

A.E.W. Mason, the novelist whose works also formed part of the Stoll Picture Productions Eminent Authors series, was a further influence on Dell's Indian adventures. Dell presented Mason with a signed copy of her title *The Gate Marked Private* (1928). Mason had also not lived abroad in the Empire about which he wrote but he had travelled widely. His *The Four Feathers* (1902) – a story of apparent cowardice, heroism, duty, and true Britishness – provided the gut and sinew for Dell's men. In the novels of this genre it is the imagined imperial adventure that self-perpetuates itself. As critic Rosemary M. George explains:

46 See Benita Parry, *Delusions and Discoveries. Studies on India in the British Imagination 1880–1930* (London: Allen Lane, 1972).

47 Bithia M. Croker, *Diana Barrington: A Romance of Central India*, 3 vols. (London: Ward and Downey, 1888), 3: 63.

48 Allen Greenberger, *The British Image of India: A Study in the Literature of Imperialism, 1880–1960* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1969), p. 12.

49 Ethel M. Dell, *The Way of an Eagle* (London: Fisher Unwin, 1914), p. 187.

50 Ibid., p. 86. Ethel M. Dell, *The Safety Curtain and Other Stories* (London: Fisher Unwin, 1917), p. 49.

51 Greenberger, *British Image of India* (see above, n. 52), p. 12.

The 'preview' that the book provided thus becomes identical to the reality inhabited and represented by writers. For the author to have visited India did not necessarily add or subtract from the quality or success of the novels she wrote – hence the phenomenal success of writers like Ethel M. Dell.⁵²

Dell's writing includes many pietistic epigraphs – some written by herself and published separately in her book *Verses* (1920) – along with quotations from the Bible, hymns and borrowed poems. Can the inclusion of these be aligned to her marketing mix or do they constitute a moralistic balance to her work's content, designed to reassure the reader? For the last few titles that Dell published the epigraph formula changed and they became more personal as her final illness progressed.⁵³ In the epigraph for *The Juice of the Pomegranate* – the penultimate work before she died – she wrote: "Our partings never parted us, and so though earthly sight could follow you no further we only said, 'Good night!'"

In examining Dell's influence on Barbara Cartland, Robert Jensen-Rix suggests that Dell's stories were underpinned by a religious sensibility. This may be in evidence with regards to the epigraphs, but the suggestion that the heroines and heroes of Dell's narratives sought or were blessed with a spiritual end-game seems to be beyond the imagination or intent of the author.⁵⁴ In *The Bars of Iron* (1915), Dell demonstrates a deep knowledge of the Bible but as a balance has her protagonist, an Anglican vicar, write a sermon that is neither "mythical nor allegorical."⁵⁵ Religiousness was a vehicle for the narrative born out of her personal knowledge and not for theo-philosophical convictions.

Ethel M. Dell's stories sold well in spite of her reclusiveness and avoidance of celebrity culture. Dell hardly ever entertained at home and did not at any stage in her career appear in public, give an interview, nor release any photographs of herself.⁵⁶ There is an interesting parallel to be made here between Dell and the popular romance author Georgette Heyer (twenty years Dell's junior) who, as Jennifer Kloester has noted, "like many thousands of other young women . . . grew up reading the novels of . . . Ethel M. Dell, D.K. Broster,

52 Rosemary M. George, 'Homes in the Empire, Empire in the Home,' *Cultural Critique* 26 (1993/4), pp. 95–126, there 119.

53 Ethel M. Dell died from cancer in 1939 aged 58. She had been unwell since 1926 and had a mastectomy in 1936.

54 Robert Jensen-Rix, 'Love in the Clouds: Barbara Cartland's Religious Romances,' *Journal of Religion and Popular Culture*, 21.2 (2009).

55 Ethel M. Dell, *The Bars of Iron* (London: Hutchinson, 1954), p. 58.

56 Faith Brown (Dell's cook in 1938), November 1975, questionnaire and letter in Author's private collection.

Baroness Orczy and others . . . with their breathless heroines and cruel heroes.”⁵⁷ Like Dell, Heyer was known to consider that personal publicity did not help sales and was intensely private, rarely giving interviews. However in a revealing comment from 1955, Heyer made the link to Dell’s standpoint succinctly:

There seems to be a pathetic belief today in the power of personal publicity over sales. I don’t share it, and before you assume how mistaken I am I beg you to consider the case of the late Ethel M. Dell, about whom the public knew nothing, and whose colossal sales we should all of us be glad to have had.⁵⁸

As this chapter has outlined, such colossal sales were secured by a combination of the marketability of her romantic stories in a time of social hardship and demographic change, through targeted regional press advertising, a distributive focus on magazines, and the expansion of the film industry and changes in popular reading patterns. Magazine distribution proved the commercial viability of Dell’s material and this was used throughout her career for almost three quarters of her output. Dell found that her “tosh” sold well and continued to write prodigiously, pleasing a mass reading audience and making herself and those with whom she worked very wealthy.

Acknowledgments

Quotations from the works of George Orwell are reprinted by permission of Penguin Random House UK and by permission of Bill Hamilton as the Literary Executor of the Estate of the late Sonia Orwell. Quotations from P. G. Wodehouse are reprinted by permission of Penguin Random House UK. Thanks are also due to Persephone Books, *A Very Great Profession*, in print with www.persephonebooks.co.uk.

57 Jennifer Kloester, *Georgette Heyer: Biography of a Bestseller* (London: Heinemann, 2011), p. 15 and 83.

58 A.S. Byatt, ‘The Ferocious Reticence of Georgette Heyer,’ *Sunday Times Magazine*, 5 October 1975, p. 29.

“The Market is Getting Flooded with Them”: Richard Aldington’s *Death of a Hero* and the War Books Boom

Vincent Trott

In recent decades a number of scholars have identified a period known as the “war books boom,” roughly covering the years 1926 to 1933, when numerous influential works reflecting on the experience of the First World War were written and published.¹ This was not only an important juncture in the development of literature about the Great War, but also a significant point in the formation of a popular mythology of the conflict. Samuel Hynes argues that during this period a “Myth of the War” was created – this myth was “not a falsification of reality, but an imaginative version of it,” one that characterised the conflict in terms of bitterness, disillusionment and futility.² Yet while the “war books boom” has rightly been understood as a critical cultural event, the fact that it was also a *commercial* phenomenon has been largely overlooked. The role of the publishing industry in fuelling the boom has received little scholarly attention. Exploring the role of publishers during this period, however, can reveal how they drove the commercial climate, where they chose to exploit public interest, and how these considerations influenced their relationship with their authors. This chapter will demonstrate how publishers played a crucial role in determining and shaping the popular response to the First World War during the interwar years. This in turn would lay the framework for how the war would come to be represented in the following decades.

To illuminate these themes, I provide a case study of the publishing process and reception of one key novel of the war books boom – Richard Aldington’s *Death of a Hero* (1929). This work is ideal for a study of this nature for a number of reasons. Aldington had a very productive relationship with his publisher, Charles Prentice, a partner at Chatto & Windus. Their regular exchange of letters provides valuable evidence regarding the process leading to the publication of the novel. *Death of a Hero* is also of interest because it articulates the

1 See for example Samuel Hynes, *A War Imagined: The First World War and English Culture* (London: Bodley Head, 1991), and Janet Watson, *Fighting Different Wars: Experience, Memory and the First World War* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2004).

2 Hynes, *A War Imagined* (see above, n.1), p. x.

disillusionment and bitterness that typifies many books of this period, including works such as Erich Maria Remarque's *All Quiet on the Western Front* (1928) and Robert Graves's *Goodbye to All That* (1929). Yet Aldington had a distinctly aggressive stance which made his novel inherently divisive: whilst commercially successful, *Death of a Hero* never sold as many copies as some of its more well-known competitors, and its critical reception was mixed. This record reflects a marketing approach shaped by a number of competing tensions, and provides clues concerning the factors which determined popular success. *Death of a Hero's* publishing and reception history is therefore particularly worthy of consideration.

Richard Aldington was born in 1892, into a provincial middle-class family. He began his literary career as a poet, and with H.D. and Ezra Pound founded the imagist movement. In 1916 he voluntarily enlisted and fought on the western front with the Royal Sussex Regiment as a private, before being commissioned in 1917. The war had a profound psychological effect on Aldington, and he found it difficult to express himself creatively throughout much of the twenties, instead making a living through literary criticism and translation. During this period he made a number of aborted attempts at writing a war book based on his experiences, before completing *Death of a Hero*, his first novel, in early 1929. The book was published in September of that year by Covici-Friede in the US and Chatto & Windus in the UK. The main body of the novel comprises three parts. The first describes protagonist George Winterbourne's Victorian and Edwardian childhood. The second focuses on him as a young artist in London, including his ménage à trois with his wife Elizabeth and mistress Fanny. The final section deals with the war, culminating, inevitably, in Winterbourne's death on the western front: "The line of bullets slashed across his chest like a steel whip. The universe exploded darkly into oblivion."³

Through its depiction of Victorian and Edwardian life, the first part of the novel acts as a scathing generational critique. Aldington rails against the hypocrisies of the era including the public school ethos, patriotism, imperialism, philistinism and sexual repression. The older generation are therefore held responsible for the tragedy of the war. It is the war section that defines the novel, however, and here Aldington vividly conveys the physical and mental strain of combat, depicting battle as "a timeless confusion, a chaos of noise, fatigue, anxiety and horror."⁴ The title is of course ironic: there were no heroes in an age of mass, mechanised warfare. Ultimately the war is dismissed as a

3 Richard Aldington, *Death of a Hero* (London: Hogarth, 1984), p. 372 (hereafter cited as Aldington).

4 Ibid., p. 323.

futile tragedy, and the novel is an indictment of "the whole sickening bloody waste of it, the damnable stupid waste and torture."⁵ *Death of a Hero* typifies the tone of irony and disillusionment which tends to characterise what is now seen as canonical First World War writing. The work also married this bitter tone with unpalatable language: it contains sexual references and profanity which led to it being expurgated for publication.

Scholarly responses to the novel have varied. Bernard Bergonzi, in his seminal survey of First World War literature, *Heroes Twilight* (1965), argued that Aldington's untempered vitriol detracted from the book's anti-war thesis.⁶ More recently, there have been efforts at rehabilitation. Andrew Frayn, for example, suggests that *Death of a Hero* "was significant in testing and expanding the market for subsequent disenchanted representations of the war."⁷ It can be argued that *Death of a Hero* is an exemplar of British disenchantment with the war, and a synthesis of many key myths that have frequently come to define it. To understand how *Death of a Hero* fitted in to an evolving mythology of the war, however, it is necessary to consider the publishing climate from which it emerged.

"The War Books Boom"

Death of a Hero was written and published at a time of intense public interest in the First World War. This was also a period during which the war was beginning to be cast in an increasingly disillusioned light. In 1928, Siegfried Sassoon's *Memoirs of a Fox-Hunting Man* and Edmund Blunden's *Undertones of War* were published, but it was the enormous success of two works later that year which really fuelled the publishing boom. The first of these was R.C. Sherriff's drama, *Journey's End*, a hit in the West-End, which ran for 593 performances, and sold 175,000 thousand copies, occupying bestseller lists for most of 1929. The second was Erich Maria Remarque's *All Quiet on the Western Front*, a German anti-war novel which achieved international fame. In Britain, it sold 25,000 copies in two weeks, and was under heavy demand in public libraries.⁸ Stepney Council, in east London, for example, had purchased an unprecedented 126 copies of

5 Ibid., p. 35.

6 Bernard Bergonzi, *Heroes Twilight* (London: Carcanet, 1996), p. 175.

7 Andrew Frayn, *Writing Disenchantment: The Development of First World War Prose, 1918–1930* (PhD thesis, University of Manchester, 2008), p. 172.

8 Rosa Maria Bracco, *The Merchants of Hope: British Middlebrow Writers and the First World War* (Oxford: Berg, 1993), p. 145.

the book by January 1930, but still had a waiting list of 553 people waiting to borrow it.⁹ The two works were rather different in tone, however. Despite conveying the tragedy of the war, Sherriff's play was far gentler than Remarque's novel, which was a fierce and bitter indictment of the conflict.

War books themselves were nothing new in the late twenties; many works reflecting on the war had been published since the armistice, but the most popular of these had tended to be middlebrow novels, such as Ernest Raymond's *Tell England* (1922), which advanced traditional, patriotic messages.¹⁰ The popularity of more disillusioned works in 1929 was indicative of a shift in the popular mood. But we should not assume that publishers were simply reactive in this regard. As Geoffrey Faber noted in an address to fellow publishers, the change in public attitudes which fostered the boom "was intelligently anticipated by publishers."¹¹ The industry had been instrumental in gauging public perceptions throughout the twenties, and was quick to recognise when commercial opportunities presented themselves. Many publishers were also motivated by a desire to publish books which conveyed a more critical perspective on the war, and had been doing so throughout the twenties. This allowed them to influence public attitudes and test the market for more challenging representations. Chatto & Windus had been instrumental in this respect, publishing a number of books of this nature including Wilfred Owen's *Poems* (1920), C.E. Montague's *Disenchantment* (1922) and R.H. Mottram's *Spanish Farm* trilogy (1924–26).

The success of Sherriff and Remarque, however, triggered an immense wave of publishing activity. The trade paper, the *Publisher and Bookseller*, is illustrative of this phenomenon; its pages are awash with adverts for war books, many of which make overt references to the commercial climate. An advert from May 1929, entitled "THIS IS THE DAY OF THE WAR BOOK," typified this trend:

Undoubtedly the bestsellers of recent months have been about the War; there is a public for them and the demand has not yet been satisfied. Messrs. John Lane The Bodley Head Limited believe that they have found one of the best and most thrilling accounts of personal experience in SQUAD by James B. Wharton, which has already sold six big editions in America.¹²

9 'The Lighter Side,' *Nottingham Evening Post*, 2 January 1930, p. 4.

10 Bracco, *Merchants of Hope* (see above, n. 8), p. 15.

11 Geoffrey Faber, *A Publisher Speaking* (London: Faber, 1934), p. 24.

12 *Publisher and Bookseller*, 31 May 1929, p. 994.

Publishers saw a large potential market for these books and used aggressive promotional techniques to exploit this. Many, such as James Wharton's *Squad* are largely forgotten today, but others that were published in 1929, including Graves's *Goodbye to All That* and Ernest Hemingway's *A Farewell to Arms* have become classics of the genre. Indeed, the latter was republished as part of the first batch of Penguin paperbacks in 1935.

Despite the voracious appetite for war literature during this period, the mythology of the war was still hotly contested terrain and it sparked intense debate. Whilst anti-war novels were very successful, other representations, such as *Journey's End*, were more measured. There was no guarantee that Aldington's bitter invective would be greeted by a wide and eager audience. The marketing of the work would need to be finely tuned to capitalise on a commercial climate which was undoubtedly expanding but that was still complex in its attitude to the war.

The Publishing Process

By early 1929, Aldington had already agreed a publishing deal with the American firm Covici-Friede, and it was through them that he was put in touch with Charles Prentice, a partner at Chatto & Windus. Aldington wrote to Prentice on 30 March, buoyed by the commercial climate:

Will you let me know quite frankly whether you are really interested in a novel by me? I don't mind in the least bit your saying "no," because I know I can sell the book in England. On the other hand, I admit I should like to have it published by Chatts.¹³

Aldington projected confidence, implying that the book may already have received interest from other publishers. Yet his desire to have it published by Chatto & Windus suggests that he felt them to be a particularly appropriate home for his work. The firm's proven track record in publishing challenging war books is likely to have been a factor.

Aldington realised, however, that speed would be necessary to exploit the market whilst it was still receptive to war books. On 1 May 1929, in a telegram to Covici-Friede, he wrote:

13 Richard Aldington to Charles Prentice, 30 March 1929. Reading, University of Reading Special Collections (hereafter UoR), Chatto & Windus archive, MS 2444, CW 48/3.

Referring great success *Journey's End* and German war novels urge earliest fall publication *Death of a Hero* to take advantage public mood. Large scale English war novel might go big now.¹⁴

Later that day, Aldington contacted Prentice, quoting his telegram to Covici-Friede, and urging a swift decision.¹⁵ Although *Journey's End* was milder and less venomous than *Death of a Hero*, its popularity was evidence of a growing public interest in the war, whilst Remarque's work no doubt convinced Aldington that an English novel of comparable vitriol could prove equally lucrative. Another German war novel Aldington may have had in mind was Arnold Zweig's *The Case of Sergeant Grischa* (1928), also a commercial success. Aldington sensed, however, that this literary trend might be a fleeting fad rather than a more sustained reengagement with the war, and suggested to Prentice that the novel be marketed accordingly: "I think . . . that the book must be 'put' over as a war novel and we must get it out as soon as possible."¹⁶ *Death of a Hero* is broader in scope than *Journey's End* and *All Quiet on the Western Front*, both of which focus solely on the experience of war. Its depiction of pre-war society opened up other avenues for marketing, but Aldington clearly felt it wise to draw on the novel's war section and exploit the popularity of this theme. He was not alone in his desire to act quickly in this respect. The publisher Peter Davies had urged Frederic Manning to complete his war novel swiftly but was concerned by the author's inability to finish what he had started. He therefore "lured" Manning to his house, freed him from distractions, and forced him to stay there until his war novel was finished.¹⁷ The result, *Her Privates We*, was finally published in January 1930, and capitalized successfully on the boom. A commercial and critical success, it sold 15,000 copies in three months.¹⁸

On 15 May, Prentice confirmed that Chatto & Windus had accepted Covici-Friede's terms for the rights to publish the novel in the UK. Prentice also used the letter to express his own enjoyment of the text: "I can now say how much I enjoyed reading 'Death of a Hero,' and what a splendid piece of writing I think it is . . . I would like to congratulate you if I may."¹⁹ Prentice was evidently sympathetic to Aldington's vision of the war, and, as a war veteran himself, may have shared similar experiences. His warm praise for the work helped foster a productive working relationship which was to prove invaluable, for it allowed

14 Quoted in Christopher Ridgeway, 'Introduction' to Aldington (see above, n. 3), i–xi (p. iii).

15 Aldington to Prentice, 1 May 1929 (see above, n. 13).

16 Aldington to Prentice, 11 May 1929 (see above, n. 13).

17 Jonathan Marwil, *Frederic Manning: An Unfinished Life* (Durham: Duke UP, 1988), p. 254.

18 Ibid., p. 273.

19 Prentice to Aldington, 15 May 1929. UoR, Chatto & Windus archive, MS 2444, CW A/124.

the two men to cooperate in overcoming obstacles to the publication of the book. The first of these concerned the need for expurgation in order to avoid prosecution. The manuscript of *Death of a Hero* contained a number of sexual references in addition to occasional profanity within the dialogue. This stark use of language was a potent weapon in Aldington's attack on the inhibitions and hypocrisy of the Victorian era, yet he and Prentice were faced with little choice but to expurgate the text. As J.H. Willis Jr. has demonstrated in his study of war book censorship, publishers had good reason to be cautious. Covici-Friede had recently been taken to court in America for publishing Radclyffe Hall's *The Well of Loneliness* (1928), a novel which documented a lesbian love affair, and Jonathan Cape were forced to withdraw the book from circulation in Britain. Ernest Hemingway's war novel *A Farewell to Arms* fell victim to censorship on both sides of the Atlantic.²⁰

From a commercial standpoint it was prudent to expurgate the text. As the publisher Stanley Unwin noted, "it never in the long run pays a reputable publisher to 'overstep the mark.'"²¹ Prentice did not want to take risks and upon acceptance of the book he sent Aldington "a list of purple words and passages" which he felt would have to be omitted. He was keen, however, to stress his sympathy with Aldington's message.²² Aldington had been aware of the likely need for expurgation since he had commenced correspondence with Prentice and, despite his frustration, was pragmatic enough to acquiesce.²³ He did, however, insist that rows of asterisks be used to replace the words omitted from the text, in order to draw attention to the restraints imposed upon him.²⁴ Despite understandable concerns, Prentice reluctantly agreed to Aldington's wishes on 2 July.²⁵ The result of the excisions was, as Willis has argued, "a badly damaged and compromised text."²⁶ This was true in an aesthetic as well as literary sense. In some instances the asterisks stretched across the page for a number of lines to the detriment of the book's visual appeal.²⁷

20 J.H. Willis, Jr., 'The Censored Language of War: Richard Aldington's *Death of a Hero* and Three Other War Novels of 1929,' *Twentieth Century Literature* 45.4 (1999), 467–87, there 469–70.

21 Stanley Unwin, *The Truth About Publishing* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1929), p. 326.

22 Prentice to Aldington, 15 May 1929 (see above, n. 19).

23 Aldington to Prentice, 30 March 1929 (see above, n. 13).

24 Aldington to Prentice, 16 May 1929 (see above, n. 13).

25 Prentice to Aldington, 2 July 1929 (see above, n. 19).

26 Willis, 'Censored Language of War' (see above, n. 20), 484.

27 For another reference to the visual impact of these excisions, see Andrew Nash, 'Literary Culture and Literary Publishing in Inter-War Britain: A View from Chatto and Windus,' in Simon Eliot, Andrew Nash and Ian Willison, eds., *Literary Cultures and the Material Book* (London: British Library, 2007), pp. 323–42 (pp. 328–31).

The tension between artistic integrity and mass appeal was also reflected in the design of the dustcover. Whereas book jackets had initially been intended simply as a protective covering, by the 1920s their marketing potential was beginning to be recognized, with many publishers employing colourful, pictorial designs to catch a potential reader's attention.²⁸ Aldington had clearly considered the value of dustcovers and on 28 June he wrote to Prentice with the following suggestion: "why not ask Paul Nash to do one? . . . Tell him from me to make it hard, abstract and bitter."²⁹ Nash had been an official war artist, heavily influenced by Vorticism, and during the twenties was at the vanguard of the modernist movement in British art. Aldington evidently felt that Nash's work complemented his experimentation with modernist literary forms, and intended the cover to reinforce the novel's bitter message. It became apparent, however, that Aldington's commitment to the culturally highbrow might not be conducive to commercial success. Prentice prudently advised Aldington that the cover should not be so abstract as to deter readers:

I hope, however, that the abstractness will not be carried too far; a dust cover must have some pictorial quality and some popular flavour; otherwise it will not do its job of attracting the populace.³⁰

Prentice remained a shrewd businessman and was not afraid to temper his author's ambitions if he felt it necessary. Such disagreements over dustcover art were not uncommon. Whereas the primary goal of publishers was to entice the public, authors were often swayed by less populist artistic considerations. Robert Graves, for example, had been in dispute with Jonathan Cape for similar reasons over the jacket design for *Goodbye to All That*.³¹ Upon receipt of Nash's initial design, Prentice expressed reservations, noting that "it is quite pleasing, but not very arresting," though he did concede that "when the colours are completed the effect will be more brilliant."³²

The final cover suggests that Prentice's wishes were fulfilled (figure 6.1). The design employed recognisable symbols of the western front, such as barbed

28 Joseph Connelly, *Faber and Faber: Eighty Years of Book Cover Design* (London: Faber and Faber, 2009), p. 1.

29 Aldington to Prentice, 28 June 1929 (see above, n. 13).

30 Prentice to Aldington, 2 July 1929 (see above, n. 19).

31 Robert Graves to Jonathan Cape, August 1931, in Paul O'Prey, ed., *The Selected Letters of Robert Graves, 1914–1946* (London: Hutchinson, 1982), p. 216.

32 Prentice to Aldington, 7 August 1929. UoR, Chatto & Windus archive, MS 2444, CW A/125.

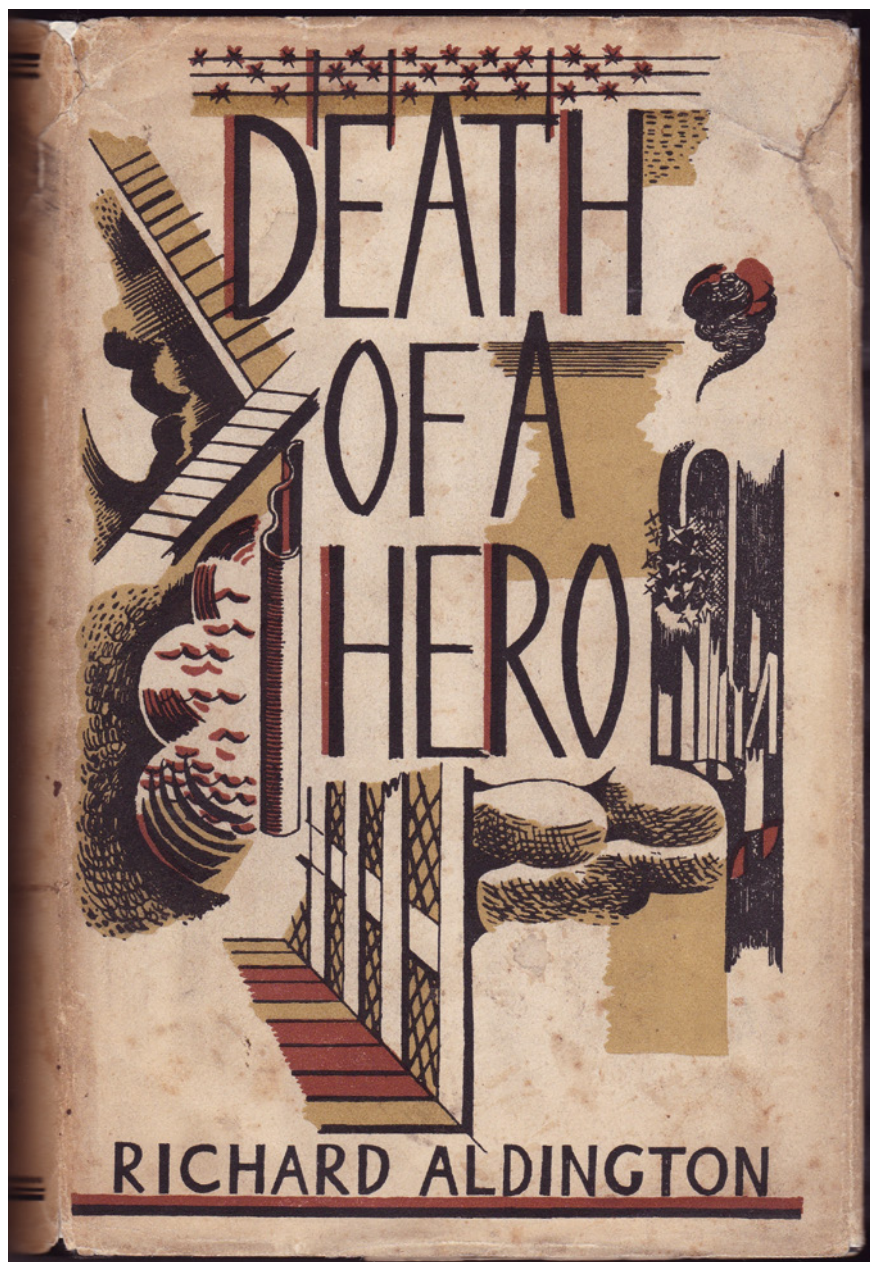


FIGURE 6.1 Paul Nash's dustcover design for the Chatto & Windus edition of *Death of a Hero* (1929)

wire and plumes of smoke, and was likely to resonate with the public imagination. This was perhaps the perfect compromise, because whilst not abstract, these symbols firmly alluded to the horror of the battlefield and were largely in keeping with Aldington's bitter denunciation of the war. Aldington himself seemed pleased, expressing his support for the dustcover in a letter to Prentice on 1 September.³³

The cover was actually a more explicit reinforcement of the book's themes than that used for the first UK edition of *All Quiet on the Western Front*. In this instance the publishers, Putnam, eschewed cover art altogether (figure 6.2). But Prentice's concerns that Nash's cover was perhaps not arresting enough is understandable given the rather less subtle cover that accompanied the second 1929 reprint of Remarque's book (figure 6.3).

For this second edition, striking red lettering and gothic imagery were employed, complementing the uncompromising battlefield images that characterise the novel. That such morbid cover art could be used to promote a best-seller also suggests that the public were becoming more receptive to anti-war imagery. At the very least, it attests to what Michael Paris has described as the "pleasure culture of war."³⁴ If many readers of these novels were not ardent pacifists, they certainly enjoyed reading about the grizzlier aspects of armed combat. So whilst Nash's cover could have been more striking, its use of recognisable symbols of war's horror suggests that the book had enough of the "popular flavour" that Prentice desired.

Aldington was initially keen to capitalize upon the contemporary demand for war books by marketing *Death of a Hero* accordingly. But in a letter to Prentice on 4 August, he advocated a different approach:

It is not for me to interfere in the "publicity" of the Hero, but I should like to offer a suggestion. I feel it would be a mistake to present it merely as a war book – the market is getting flooded with them.³⁵

Although the popularity of war books had provided impetus, it was now proving to be a deterrent. The sheer quantity of this type of literature led Aldington to fear, as publication approached, that the market was becoming saturated. One solution would be to differentiate the book from its competitors. Though Nash's cover alluded to the war, the accompanying blurb and advertising

33 Aldington to Prentice, 1 September 1929 (see above, n. 13).

34 Michael Paris, *Warrior Nation: Images of War in British Popular Culture, 1850–2000* (London: Reaktion, 2000), p. 185.

35 Aldington to Prentice, 4 August 1929 (see above, n. 13).

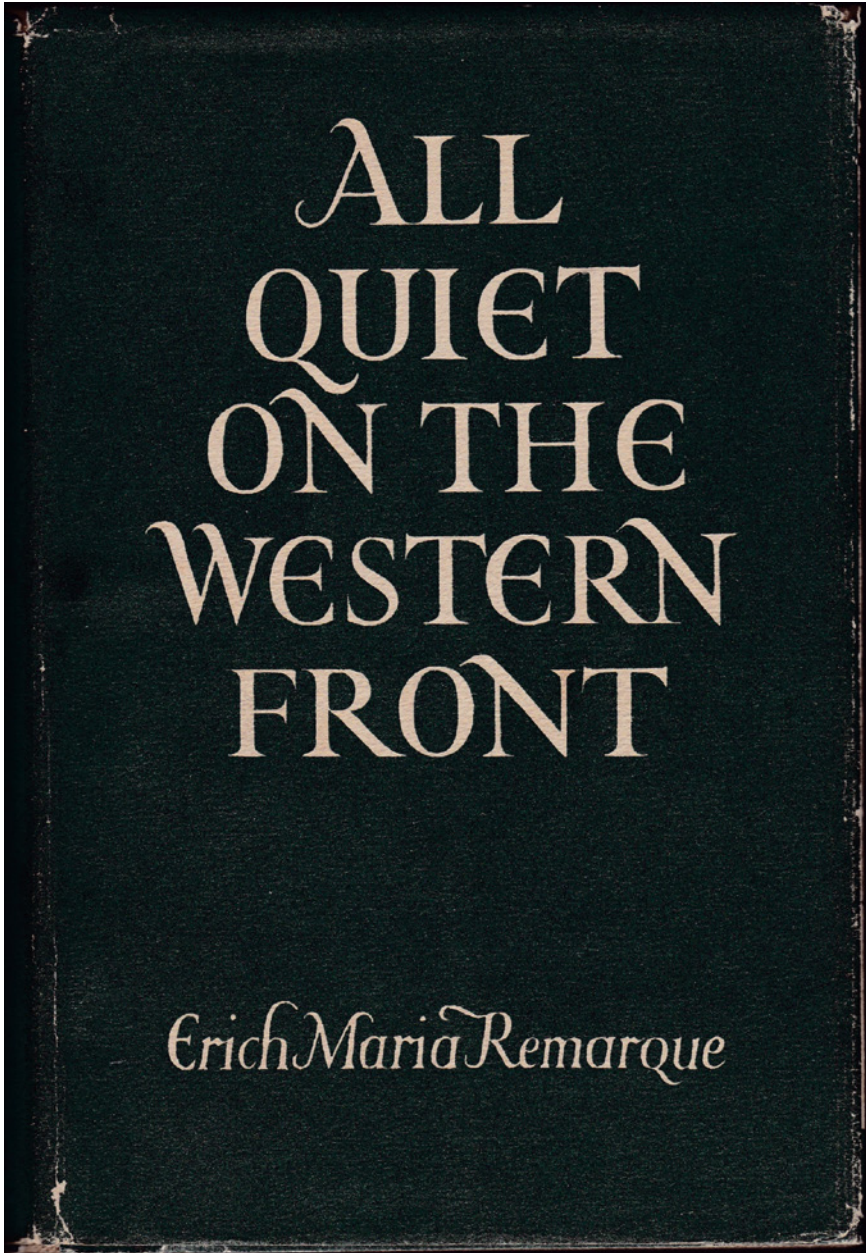


FIGURE 6.2 *Design for the first Putnam edition of All Quiet on the Western Front (1929)*

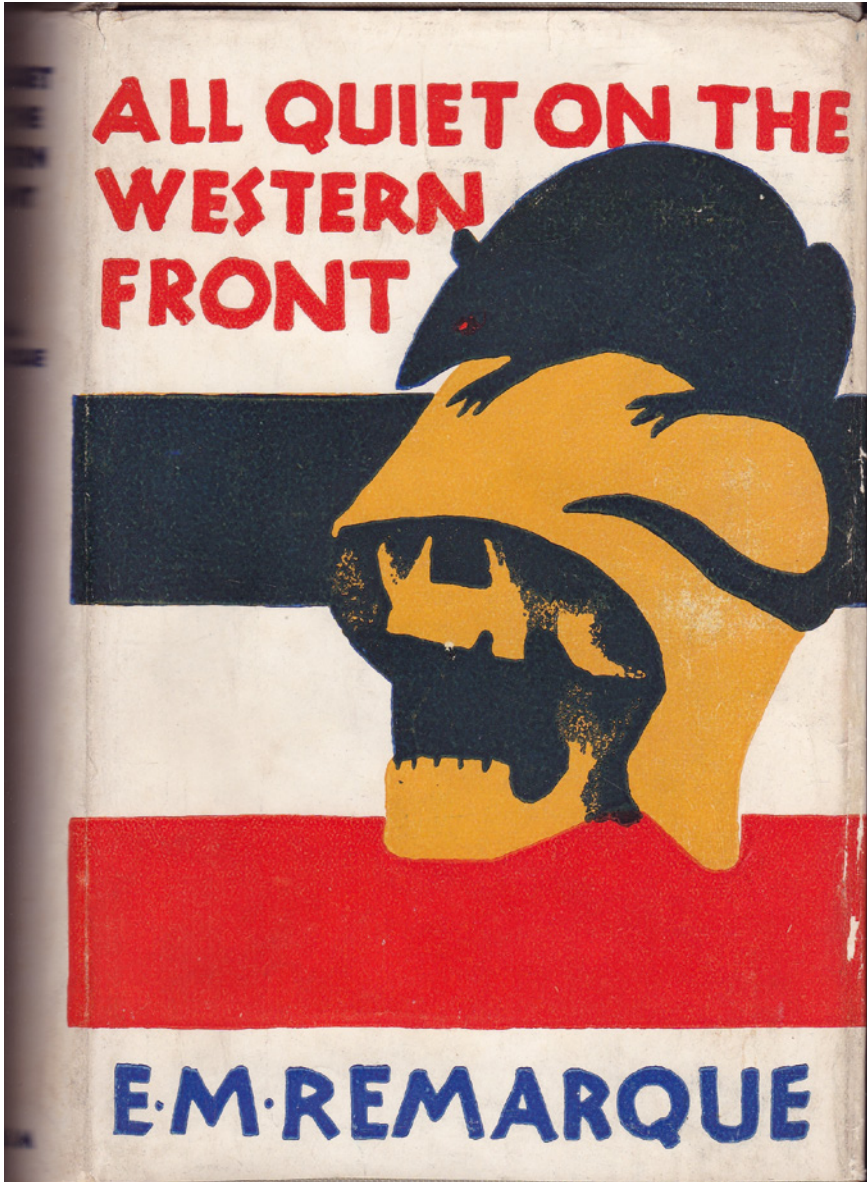


FIGURE 6.3 *Design for the second Putnam edition of All Quiet on the Western Front (1929)*

provided opportunities for Chatto & Windus to reposition the novel. Aldington therefore used his letter to establish the book's additional themes, describing it as a "tri-partite survey of English lower-middle and middle-class society . . . and an attempt to show, by 'energetic satire,' how a catastrophe like the War is rendered possible by the human failings of ordinary people as much as by the

machinations of politicians."³⁶ The novel was not just a reflection on the tragedy of the war, but a visceral attack on the society that had permitted it.

Prentice responded positively, assuring Aldington that the information would be "of the utmost use to our publicity department." He also agreed with Aldington that the market was threatening to become saturated, stating that, "I am glad you suggest that the book should not be presented merely as a war book; one hears of several that are coming out in the autumn. It will go down far better as a mixture."³⁷ The ideal marketing solution was to exploit the war books boom whilst simultaneously differentiating the product. Striking the right balance would be paramount.

The blurb for the first edition gives a clear indication of how Chatto & Windus chose to position the novel. *Death of a Hero* is described as:

a survey of English middle-class society and an attempt to show, by forceful satire, how a catastrophe such as the War is rendered possible by the failings of ordinary people as much by the machinations of politicians; in other words, to show that if people were more intelligent, and had a better sense of reality, humbug could not so easily engineer them into tragedy.³⁸

This is a considerable concession to Aldington's wishes regarding product differentiation, mirroring many elements of the author's aforementioned letter. This was not uncommon; publishers frequently based blurbs on their author's suggestions, and this certainly carried less risk of offending an author's sensibilities.³⁹ Yet the blurb hardly courts mass appeal. By conveying Aldington's combative, accusatory message, and by laying the blame for the war at the foot of "ordinary people," it risks alienating its potential readership. It does, however, firmly position the novel within a growing mood of disillusionment, ally-ing the book with other vitriolic attacks such as *All Quiet on the Western Front*. Given the huge success of Remarque's work, emphasising Aldington's bitterness was not necessarily antithetical to commercial success. As with their position on censorship, Aldington and Prentice continued to balance mass market appeal with artistic integrity.

It is also worth noting that the novel is presented as broad societal critique – a reflection on the causes, rather than the conduct of the war – and in this

36 Ibid.

37 Prentice to Aldington, 7 August 1929 (see above, n. 32).

38 Back cover blurb to Richard Aldington, *Death of a Hero* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1929).

39 Unwin, *Truth About Publishing* (see above, n. 21), p. 243.

sense it is not marketed as a conventional war novel. It is surprising that Aldington's own war experiences, which heavily influenced elements of the novel, are not drawn upon here. Nowhere is there reference to the novel's war section, or the experience of the trenches. Consequently, the blurb is able to exploit popular interest in the war by alluding to the conflict, whilst still distancing itself from the recent spate of trench narratives. As we have seen, this was no accident, but the product of meticulous planning by Prentice and Aldington.

The blurb's depiction of the protagonist is also significant. George Winterbourne is described as "one of millions who accepted death as the immediate end to their youth. More sensitive than the generality of Englishmen he stands, nevertheless, as a true representative of a generation; his story is a monument to the dead."⁴⁰ This is clearly an attempt to broaden the novel's appeal – a suggestion that it in some way encapsulates the common experience of war, and that it can perform a commemorative function. Whilst it is conceded that Winterbourne is an unusually sensitive artist, it is implied that his untimely death in combat makes him typical of his generation. These are ambitious claims. Winterbourne is not an everyman but a largely insular character whose sensitivity and intellect leave him feeling distanced from his fellow soldiers.⁴¹ And whilst Winterbourne's death in combat is crucial to the novel's rendering of the war as tragedy, this was not the common experience of most British men and their families (around 88% of men who had served in the conflict returned).⁴² For these men, the war ended with the gradual and often painful process of reintegration into civilian society rather than death. Winterbourne's story was in this sense not representative but this did not necessarily matter; it was certainly in the commercial interests of Aldington and Prentice to present it as such. In doing so, they also played an important role in constructing a popular mythology of the war which was increasingly centred on death and tragedy rather than victory or heroism. That numerous other fictional protagonists die in combat, such as Remarque's Baumer and Manning's Bourne, is a testament to this.

On 19 September, the book's publication date, Prentice updated Aldington regarding subscription sales. The interest of booksellers and commercial lending libraries was crucial to the success of the book, and great efforts had been made to secure orders from them. The libraries, in particular, were of great importance. As Nicola Wilson has shown, "it was via the counters of the public

⁴⁰ Back cover blurb (see above, n. 38).

⁴¹ Aldington (see above, n. 3), p. 241.

⁴² Ian F.W. Beckett, *The Great War: 1914–1918* (Harlow: Pearson, 2007), p. 440.

and subscription libraries that the vast majority of readers got hold of new books.⁴³ The subscription libraries, which usually charged readers an annual fee in exchange for borrowing rights, were often run by large companies such as W.H. Smith and Boots. Their financial clout and extensive distribution networks meant that "they were the most important and significant purchasers of the novels that were produced during the years 1880 to 1940."⁴⁴ The initial forecast was fairly promising: of the first impression, consisting of 5,000 books, 1,664 had already been sold. But whereas the booksellers had "come up to the scratch nobly," Prentice complained that "some of the libraries on the other hand are hedging." Mudie's had taken 150, Smith's only 100, and Boots only 50.⁴⁵ The subscription libraries catered towards a conservative, middle-class audience and tended to promote middlebrow works, with conventional, traditional themes and messages. Popular authors with the libraries included Ethel M. Dell, P.G. Wodehouse and Gilbert Frankau.⁴⁶ *Death of a Hero*, however, in both form and content, might well have been interpreted as an attack on the values the libraries upheld, and was treated with caution. The novel's bitter tone and controversial need for expurgation certainly appeared to be hindering its wider distribution. The Book Society Ltd for example – a mail-order book club which espoused similar values to the libraries – had rejected the novel due its large number of "puritanical subscribers," as Prentice scathingly put it.⁴⁷ Prentice, however, remained optimistic, reassuring Aldington that "subscription sales do not necessarily mean very much to subsequent sales of the book."⁴⁸ Reviews and advertising could both play an important role.

Aldington was particularly keen to exploit the power of advertising. On 22 September he complained to Prentice that the initial adverts were "too gentlemanly," stating "two things must hit the public eye: the title which in itself is a 'selling proposition' and the name 'Chatto and Windus.'"⁴⁹ Despite not wanting the novel to be pigeonholed as a war book, Aldington's desire to emphasise the title of the novel – which alluded to its war theme – suggests that he still saw a commercially exploitable market for these books. He was also clearly aware of the power of Chatto & Windus as a brand name and felt that being associated with such a reputable publisher would encourage sales.

43 Nicola Wilson, 'Libraries, Reading Patterns and Censorship,' in *The Oxford History of the Novel in English*, 12 vols. (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2011-), 4: 36–51 (p. 37).

44 Ibid., p. 39.

45 Prentice to Aldington, 19 September 1929 (see above, n. 32).

46 Wilson, 'Libraries, Reading Patterns and Censorship' (see above, n. 43), p. 46.

47 Prentice to Aldington, 13 August 1929 (see above, n. 32).

48 Prentice to Aldington, 19 September 1929 (see above, n. 32).

49 Aldington to Prentice, 22 September 1929 (see above, n. 13).

Prentice responded a day later, keen to defend his initial marketing strategy and noting that the adverts “certainly are mild, but I think they did their work.”⁵⁰ Disagreements between publishers and authors over matters of advertising were not uncommon. Novelist and publisher Frank Swinnerton wrote in 1935 that “I have only once come across an author who was satisfied with the advertising for a book of his own,” before concluding that the “the truth is authors do not understand the business of advertising.”⁵¹ Swinnerton argued that “the authors most ostentatiously indifferent to success are the ones who write most privately and pressingly to their publishers on the question of advertising. It is not a base thing in these authors, but an urgent egoism which leads them to be over-occupied with a matter which they do not understand.”⁵²

The author Swinnerton has in mind bears more than a little resemblance to Aldington. Despite his refusal to pander to popular opinion there can be no denying that Aldington craved commercial recognition. Swinnerton emphasised his cynicism in this regard by stressing that “*advertising does not sell books*.”⁵³ His reasoning was “that we never notice advertisements until the things they advertise are familiar to us.”⁵⁴ Advertising, according to Swinnerton, was only of value once a book was already popular and well-known; it would be of little value if a book had not already made an appreciable impact. Publisher Stanley Unwin expressed very similar sentiments:

the conclusion at which we arrive . . . is that it pays to advertise a book if it shows signs of being successful without advertising, but that it does not pay to advertise at all expensively a book that shows no sign of catching on.⁵⁵

If Prentice shared this view he must have had considerable faith in the book as it was advertised heavily in the national press in the weeks after its publication. Aldington appears to have been placated. On 25 September, he wrote approvingly that the advert in the “Publisher and Bookseller was the Platonic ideal of a good ad.”⁵⁶

The advert in question was simple in design but bold and arresting (figure 6.4). It pithily described the work as “A long novel of peace and war, which is the

50 Prentice to Aldington, 23 September 1929 (see above, n. 32).

51 Frank Swinnerton, *Authors and the Book Trade* (London: Hutchison, 1935), p. 79.

52 *Ibid.*, p. 80.

53 *Ibid.*

54 *Ibid.*, p. 83.

55 Unwin, *Truth About Publishing* (see above, n. 21), p. 263.

56 Aldington to Prentice, 25 September 1929 (see above, n. 13).

SEPTEMBER 27, 1929 THE PUBLISHER & BOOKSELLER 543

DEATH OF A HERO

Richard Aldington

A long novel of peace and war, which
is the epitaph of a generation.

"It is (I use the words with precision)
terrific, tremendous."—*The Observer*.

8s. 6d. net

CHATTO & WINDUS
LONDON

B

FIGURE 6.4 *Chatto & Windus advert for Death of a Hero in the Publisher and Bookseller, 27 September 1929, p. 543*
FROM THE CHATTO & WINDUS ADVERTISEMENTS BOOK SERIES, UOR CW D/6

epitaph of a generation."⁵⁷ Again the carefully balanced marketing approach is evident; the novel is not just portrayed as a war book, but a more thorough examination of the pre-war world. Like the blurb, this description also suggests a certain commemorative quality to the text. It is implied that Winterbourne's story is representative, as if the experience of the trenches engendered a common bond amongst the generation who fought. As Aldington had wished, both the title of the book and the name of the publisher are strikingly visible, rendering Chatto & Windus as central as Aldington to the novel's identity. Crucially, the advert included a small quotation of glowing praise from Gerald Gould's review in the *Observer*.

Reception

Before its publication, Prentice and Aldington had carefully distributed the book amongst selected critics. The popular author Arnold Bennett – a reviewer for the *Evening Standard* – was deemed a worthy recipient, for example, whereas the *Observer's* Gerald Gould was not.⁵⁸ The reasons for this antipathy towards Gould are unclear, but however attuned to the market Prentice was, he evidently did not foresee the praise that Gould would subsequently offer. Nevertheless, this pre-publication strategy allowed Prentice and Aldington some influence over initial reactions to the book, though of course once the work entered the public domain this was beyond their control. As with advertising, not all publishers appear to have been convinced by the value of reviews. Again, Swinnerton was rather dismissive, portraying critics as belonging to a feuding, bickering "coterie." As most were authors themselves, Swinnerton argued, many critics used reviews to take a swipe at their rivals, often in revenge if they had fallen victim to a similar tactic: "it is for this reason that, outside a small public, most of the reviews printed by the critical press have no influence."⁵⁹ But whilst reviews may have reflected petty squabbles within insular literary circles, there is evidence to suggest that they could have a considerable impact on public opinion. Prentice, for example, was convinced of their value, noting that "an ordinary newspaper reader will not believe the publisher – but has to have quotes from Bennett, Gould etc."⁶⁰ Moreover, he had observed the direct influence reviews could have on sales:

57 *Publisher and Bookseller*, 27 September 1929, p. 543.

58 Prentice to Aldington, 13 August 1929 (see above, n. 32).

59 Swinnerton, *Authors and the Book Trade* (see above, n. 51), p. 119.

60 Prentice to Aldington, 23 September 1929 (see above, n. 32).

One of the principal booksellers in Scotland turned down the Hero because he did not like the tone of it. Yesterday, he wrote for ten copies, observing that it had been well reviewed. Such people have not helped create the demand but the demand has come to them. There were many instances like this.⁶¹

Reviews were not only seen as a gauge of the novel's success but also as a potential factor in it.

In general, the critical response was mixed. Although a laudatory sentence of Gerald Gould's review in the *Observer* had been used for advertising purposes, the piece on the whole – as Prentice had in fact predicted – was far less positive. Whilst Gould was impressed with the war sections he was very critical of the first two parts of the novel. He wrote that the "indictment of pre-war society . . . is as feeble as the indictment of the war is fine" and complained that in order to get to the excellent war passages "you must wade through (or skip) more than two hundred pages that are crude, petulant and, save in flashes, artistically worthless."⁶² Arnold Bennett's review in the *Evening Standard* expressed similar sentiments. He found Aldington's strident critique of British society "often annoying" and "sometimes exasperating," but felt that "the war sections are on the whole superb."⁶³ It appears that it was not Aldington's bitter denunciation of the war that had failed to impress critical readers, but his scathing attack on Edwardian and Victorian values.

A more positive review came from Aldington's fellow war writer, Edmund Blunden, in the *Times Literary Supplement*. Blunden was not entirely supportive of the book, complaining that there was "no coolness or detachment"; indeed, Aldington's scathing satire is markedly different from Blunden's measured tone and delicate pastoral allusions in *Undertones of War*. Aldington was not fond of Blunden either, and complained to Prentice that he was not an ideal reviewer.⁶⁴ Nevertheless, Blunden praised the war sections saying that they represented "some of the finest and closest narration of the western front warfare that has been produced."⁶⁵ Prentice and Aldington had perhaps been unwise to divert attention away from the novel's war book credentials. Aldington's war passages struck a chord with reviewers, particularly whilst

61 Prentice to Aldington, 26 September 1929 (see above, n. 32).

62 Gerald Gould, 'New Novels: War and Peace,' *Observer*, 22 September 1929, p. 6.

63 Arnold Bennett, 'Three Modern Rebels,' *Evening Standard*, 19 September 1929, p. 7.

64 Aldington to Prentice, 27 September 1929 (see above, n. 13).

65 Edmund Blunden, 'The War Generation,' *Times Literary Supplement*, 19 September 1929, p. 713.

disillusionment was in vogue. On the other hand, Aldington and Prentice's efforts to promote the book as a societal critique were in vain.

But Aldington and Prentice had been right to harbour some fears regarding the saturation of the war book market because some reviewers were tiring of the genre. A highly critical review by St. John Ervine in the *Daily Express* was titled: "I say there are too many war novels."⁶⁶ In 1930, disillusioned war narratives were vehemently decried by the critic Douglas Jerrold who disputed the growing sense of negativity that was engulfing the memory of the war.⁶⁷ This critical response was indicative of a wider backlash against disillusionment from certain parts of the population, which maintained that despite being horrific, the war had been a worthwhile struggle for a noble cause. Numerous ex-servicemen expressed this opinion, arguing that the war had brought out the best in those who fought.⁶⁸ The mythology of the war at this stage was fractured; even works as popular as *All Quiet on the Western Front* were met with outrage by some. It was little wonder that Aldington also fell victim to criticism.

On 2 October, a couple of weeks after publication, sales had risen encouragingly to 3,600, but it was clear that the book could be performing better. One problem, Prentice noted, was that the libraries were continuing "to hold aloof."⁶⁹ Concerns over the novel's bitterness and its controversial subject matter were proving a barrier to greater success – particularly amongst the commercial libraries. Prentice was certainly convinced that this was the reason for disappointing sales, claiming that the commercial libraries "are afraid of their subscribers coming in and waving sticks and umbrellas at them."⁷⁰ Nonetheless, sales did steadily increase, reaching the respectable figure of 9,000 by early December 1929. A French edition of the work was also arranged, and, according to Aldington's biographer Charles Doyle, he was now earning around \$60 a day – an "undreamed of state of wealth!"⁷¹ But relative to some other war books of the time, *Death of Hero's* success was modest. Aldington's envy was palpable when he wrote to Prentice in December enquiring as to whether *Goodbye to All*

66 St. John Ervine, 'I Say There Are Too Many War Novels,' *Daily Express*, 3 October 1929, p. 8.

67 Douglas Jerrold, *The Lie About the War: A Note on Some Contemporary War Books* (London: Faber and Faber, 1930).

68 See for example Lieutenant-Colonel W.B. Little, 'Forces in the War,' *Times*, 17 April 1930, p. 10.

69 Prentice to Aldington, 2 October 1929 (see above, n. 32).

70 Ibid.

71 Charles Doyle, *Richard Aldington: A Biography* (London: Macmillan, 1989), p. 128.

That had really sold 30,000 copies.⁷² This bestselling figure certainly seems plausible: as Robert Graves's biographer Miranda Seymour has shown, *Goodbye to All That* sold 20,000 copies within a week of its September publication.⁷³

Prentice was also disappointed. He wrote to Aldington on 4 December admitting that the absence of "a big initial sale" had "rather handicapped the Hero." Hoping that *Death of a Hero's* moderate success would inspire greater commercial opportunities in the future, Prentice instead turned attention to Aldington's next book, a collection of short stories about the war entitled *Roads to Glory* (1930).⁷⁴ Chatto & Windus would also publish Aldington's second novel, *The Colonel's Daughter* (1931). This sold 7,000 copies within three months, but its depiction of sexuality led to it being banned or withdrawn from some of the commercial libraries.⁷⁵

As the exchanges between Richard Aldington and Charles Prentice reveal, the literary marketplace weighed heavily in the minds of publishers and authors. Aldington was quick to identify a commercial opportunity which would allow him to profit from a literary project that he had been toying with for nearly a decade. Both he and Prentice were acutely aware of the immense popularity of works such as *Journey's End* and *All Quiet on the Western Front*, and sought to exploit this. Yet Aldington had a distinct agenda and a message he needed to convey which not only denounced the horror and futility of war, but also provided a vitriolic indictment of pre-war society. Prentice was evidently sympathetic to Aldington's viewpoint, and, like many other influential publishers, played an active role in promoting this disenchanting image of the war. Yet Prentice was also an astute businessman and whilst remaining as faithful as possible to Aldington's ideals he realised that expurgating the book was a commercial necessity, as well as a legal one if the threat of prosecution for obscenity was to be avoided. He also remained in tune with the sentiments of the reading public, ensuring that the dustcover retained some "popular flavour."

Prentice and Aldington were aware of the need to differentiate their product, particularly amidst concerns that the "war books boom" might be abating. With its broad scope, *Death of a Hero* opened up a variety of marketing opportunities, providing Aldington and Prentice the luxury of exploiting the current trend in the market whilst simultaneously differentiating their product.

72 Aldington to Prentice, 21 December 1929 (see above, n. 13).

73 Miranda Seymour, *Robert Graves: Life on the Edge* (London: Doubleday, 1995), p. 192.

74 Prentice to Aldington, 4 December 1929 (see above, n. 32).

75 Doyle, *Richard Aldington* (see above, n. 71), p. 153. See also Nash, 'Literary Culture and Literary Publishing' (see above, n. 27), pp. 327–8.

The book's marketing reflected this by attempting to convey the novel's broader themes. But Aldington and Prentice were torn between a commitment to producing a scathing critique on the one hand and a popular success on the other. Despite their desire for commercial recognition, the book's marketing, which clearly emphasised the novel's bitter, accusatory message, demonstrates that financial reward was not their only motivation. But the novel's critical and commercial performance suggests they were unrealistically ambitious in their aims. Aldington's satire and the novel's combative tone made it inherently divisive and its need for censorship no doubt deterred sections of the public – not least because of the visual damage it did to the text. Similarly, whilst a large proportion of the population was clearly receptive to a tone of disillusionment regarding the war, Aldington's critique of British society was less palatable. This perhaps in part explains why other war books, some of which were equally vitriolic, were more successful. Remarque may have evoked uncompromisingly brutal battlefield images, but it was German society rather than British society that was attacked. British readers could indulge in Remarque's novel safe in the knowledge that they were not being indicted for its horror. No such comfort was available when reading *Death of a Hero*. With the benefit of hindsight we can see that the marketing of the book should have played to its strengths, promoting it as a war novel. The early sections clearly detracted from its vivid western front climax, whereas Remarque's work, in contrast, was more concise and distilled. Despite proving to be commercially lucrative for Aldington, neither he nor Prentice could hide their disappointment. It was clear that *Death of a Hero* was to be no *All Quiet on the Western Front*.

Acknowledgments

Excerpts from Richard Aldington's letters to Charles Prentice of 30 March 1929; 11 May 1929; 28 June 1929; 4 August 1929; and 22, 25 September 1929, reproduced by kind permission of Richard Aldington's Estate c/o Rosica Colin Limited, London.

Permission to publish all correspondence between Richard Aldington and Charles Prentice from the Chatto & Windus archive in The Penguin Random House Group Archive and Library of the University of Reading with thanks to Penguin Random House UK.

Genre at the Hogarth Press

Claire Battershill

As the literary editor of the *Nation & Athenaeum* (N&A) between 1923 and 1929, Leonard Woolf was well acquainted with the book market's practices of categorisation. The "Pick of the Publishing Season" lists appeared twice annually in the intellectual periodical, and Woolf's own weekly column, "The World of Books," commented on the state of the book trade as it manifested itself in the pages of the N&A. Remarking on genre categories in the "Pick of the Publishing Season" for the fall of 1927, Woolf suggested that despite their prevalence, "[l]abels alone, with their flavour of the arbitrary, are unenlightening. By a consideration of the books placed under these headings, the typicalities of each group become more easily apparent, as do also their specific differences."¹

Woolf's comment points to the early twentieth-century book trade's reliance on labels, lists, and categories that were often insufficient in describing literary content and form. Despite their "arbitrariness," genre categorisations were the primary way of organising books in modernist magazines and publishing documents, including advertisements, critical analyses, and publishers' business records. Genre headings were also the shorthand means by which the different participants in the trade communicated with one another. Bookshops and libraries organized and recommended books by genre, as they do today, but books were categorized not just after publication but also beforehand.² Penguin's practice, for instance, of colour-coding its paperbacks of the 1930s along genre lines (dark blue for biography, orange for fiction, green for crime novels, yellow for travel, and so on) is perhaps the most overt example of genre classification as a marketing strategy for attracting readers to groups of books, rather than to individual titles.

1 Leonard Woolf, 'Biographies and Autobiographies: The World of Books,' *Nation and Athenaeum* 12 (1927), 250.

2 The Dewey decimal system, originating from the United States in 1873 and published in 1876, was "devised for cataloguing and indexing purposes," and Dewey was eventually considered "equally valuable for numbering and arranging books and pamphlets on the shelves." For Dewey as for most classification systems, usefulness for the reader was the main goal in developing a system of categorisation, and consequently such systems value "short, familiar titles for the headings" over the communication of a book's subtleties. Melville Dewey, 'Preface' in *A Classification and Subject Index for Cataloguing and Arranging the Books and Pamphlets of a Library* (Amherst, Mass, 1876), p. 1.

Leonard Woolf was also, as a publisher himself, an active participant in the formation of the trade on which he commented in his “World of Books” articles. Looking from the perspective of the book trade invites an approach to genre not strictly (or even primarily) as a series of literary conventions, but as a practical tool by which publishers and periodicals communicate with readers. As Sean Latham has recently argued in relation to the *roman à clef*, modernist genre “can operate both as a set of deliberately created markers as well as pragmatic codes invoked in the act of reception” and these practical categories serve as “a link between creation and consumption, a way of attending to the way literary forms traffic between readers and authors.”³ This double view of genre as both an intrinsic and an extrinsic feature of literature creates an interface between the different participants in the book trade, but it can also result in a rupture between literary and pragmatic understandings of classification.

Leonard Woolf’s remarks on the insufficiency of labels come from the expectation that genre is more complex than the Dewey system seems to indicate. What happens, in a category-oriented book world, to unclassifiable, experimental works? In this chapter I consider the headings, categories, and price points that communicate genre in the book world, and suggest that in the case of Leonard and Virginia Woolf’s Hogarth Press, the practices of categorisation that Woolf found “unenlightening,” reveal a great deal about the values of the publisher that assigned them. The tensions between the surface categorisation of works – as novels, biographies, or travel writing – and the literary understandings of genres were particularly significant for modernist writers and publishers who were testing the boundaries of genre by experimenting with literary and narrative forms.

I focus here on the methods of organisation that they applied to the diverse list of works that appeared under the “Woolf’s head” imprint between 1917 and 1946.⁴ The Woolfs “considered” (to use Leonard Woolf’s word) books of all kinds and attended to their aesthetic and intellectual complexities. However, the Hogarth Press also used recognizable book-trade genre categories to market the works they produced and to organize its own company accounts (now housed in the Hogarth Press Business Archives at the University of Reading). That the Press attended carefully to market considerations dispels the notion that this modernist small press was unconcerned with readers or with a larger market. Far from being an isolated small operation, the Hogarth Press found

3 Sean Latham, *The Art of Scandal: Modernism, Libel Law, and the Roman à Clef* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2009), p. 7.

4 This chapter draws, in part, from a larger project on the Hogarth Press. See Claire Battershill ‘Biography and Autobiography at the Hogarth Press’ (PhD thesis, University of Toronto, 2012).

innovative ways of approaching classification and categorisation while maintaining the generic hybridity and complexity of the works that they published. The combination of attentiveness to the particularity of individual books and the use of general headings suggests a seemingly contradictory relationship with genre that accommodated the Press's deliberately capacious mandate to publish "writing of merit which the ordinary publisher refuses."⁵

Leonard Woolf was not the only modernist critic to both use and question the taxonomical nature of publishing in favour of an approach that took the complexities of individual works into account. In his essay, "Studies in Contemporary Criticism," T.S. Eliot proposed that "for the reading public, some classification [of criticism] would be useful."⁶ At first glance, this appears to be an earnest, practical suggestion, designed to offer readers a guide to the kinds of works they might encounter. After all, readers of periodicals like the *Egoist*, in which the essay first appeared, would be familiar with these kinds of categorisations, which appeared in some form (whether in publishers' advertisements or in critical articles on literary style) in nearly every issue. Eliot goes on, however, to suggest that such a handbook might be called *A Guide to Useless Books*, and that it might "enable the reader to determine immediately whether a critic fulfills any of the legitimate critical functions or fulfills more than one without confusion."⁷ There is a paradox about Eliot's proposed "useful" guide to "useless books" which finds full expression in the conclusion of the essay: "perhaps the greatest blunder is that nearly everyone who criticizes preserves some official ideal of 'criticism' instead of writing simply and conversationally what they think."⁸ In Eliot's view, over-determined notions of genre are detrimental for writers, whereas for readers, classification might, at least at first, prove helpful in locating oneself within a literary field.

This conflict between the need to organize different kinds of works and the desirability, at the same time, for books that communicate in an individual voice without "official ideals" to constrain innovation, was one that the Hogarth Press was continually confronting. The Press began in 1917 with the purchase of a "printing press, for all our friends [sic] stories," and relied at first on informal and unpaid labour, including help with the presswork from the Woolfs' servants and friends.⁹ Almost immediately however, it attained financial and

5 Virginia Woolf to Harriet Weaver, 17 May 1918, in Virginia Woolf, *The Letters of Virginia Woolf*, eds. Nigel Nicolson and Joanne Trautmann, 6 vols (London: Hogarth Press, 1975–80), 2: 242.

6 T.S. Eliot, 'Studies in Contemporary Criticism,' *Egoist* 5.9 (1918), 113.

7 *Ibid.*, p. 114.

8 *Ibid.*

9 Virginia Woolf to Lady Robert Cecil, October 1916, in *The Letters* (see above, n. 5), 2: 120.

cultural success and became a profitable business that sent work out to commercial printers and published works by unknown authors, as well as that of friends and family. The best-known publications of the Press include works by famous modernist thinkers and writers including Sigmund Freud, T.S. Eliot, E.M. Forster, Roger Fry, Katherine Mansfield, and Virginia Woolf herself. Now often associated with its beginnings as a hobby operation that began in the Woolfs' drawing room, the Press published over 500 titles between 1917 and 1946, whose subject matter ranged across a wide variety of topics and approaches and was "innovative and traditional, elitist and democratic, highbrow and commercial: a successful paradox."¹⁰ The Press's commercial nature is often downplayed in accounts of the publisher that favour its role in the Woolfs' personal histories. Allan Bell's review of the first Hogarth Press bibliography in the *Times Literary Supplement*, for instance, acknowledges the Press's increasing commercialisation but also seems to apologize for it by describing the Press as "that unusual amateur enterprise, planned mainly as a diversion for an over-burdened mind but developing in spite of itself into a full-blown commercial imprint."¹¹ Recent work on the Press reveals that it was, especially by the 1930s, a much larger and more diverse operation than the image of Virginia Woolf setting type and sewing bindings suggests.¹² Helen Southworth notes that 1922 was a turning point for the Press since the Woolfs considered selling their business when they began outsourcing production to commercial printers,

10 Elizabeth Gordon, 'Under the Imprint of the Hogarth Press: Material Texts and Virginia Woolf's Corporate Identity' (PhD thesis, University of Alberta, 2007), p. 3.

11 Alan Bell, 'Review of J. Howard Woolmer's *A Checklist of the Hogarth Press*,' *Times Literary Supplement*, 3 September 1976, p. 1085.

12 See Helen Southworth, ed., *Leonard and Virginia Woolf: The Hogarth Press and the Networks of Modernism* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP, 2010); Laura Marcus, 'Virginia Woolf and the Hogarth Press,' in Ian R. Willison, Warwick Gould and Warren L. Chernaik, eds., *Modernist Writers and the Marketplace* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 1996), pp. 124–50; Diane Gillespie, 'The Hogarth Press and "Religion": Logan Pearsall Smith's *Stories from the Old Testament*,' in Eleanor McNeess and Sara Veglahn, eds., *Woolf Editing/Editing Woolf* (Clemson, SC: Clemson UP, 2008), pp. 50–6; Diane Gillespie, 'Virginia Woolf, the Hogarth Press, and the Detective Novel,' *South Carolina Review* 35.2 (2003), 36–48; and Diane Gillespie, 'Wedding Rituals: Julia Strachey, Virginia Woolf, and Viola Tree,' *Woolf Studies Annual* 19 (2013), 171–93; Alice Staveley, 'Marketing Virginia Woolf: Women, War, and Public Relations in Three Guineas,' *Book History* 12 (2009), 295–339; Nicola Wilson, 'Virginia Woolf, Hugh Walpole, the Hogarth Press, and the Book Society,' *English Literary History* 79.1 (2012), 237–60; and Gordon, 'Under the Imprint of the Hogarth Press' (see above, n. 10) on the Press's cultural significance and branding.

but in the end decided to keep it.¹³ I deliberately take a synoptic view here in looking at the Press's productions as a whole body of works rather than emphasising the hand-printed books or Woolf's own novels. The rapid commercialisation of the Hogarth Press meant that as early as the 1920s, genre categorisation became necessary in order to locate the Press's work in the wider world of books.

It is perhaps the Press's frequently reiterated mandate, to do what mainstream publishers would not, that has ensured the Hogarth Press's reputation as a small and exclusive venture. An often overlooked aspect of accepting work that "ordinary" publishers would not publish, however, is that there are a number of reasons beyond a book's overly erudite or inaccessible nature for which a publisher with a more rigid mandate might not take a book. One of those reasons is that works that refashion old conventions can be difficult to categorize. The most famous example of what Sean Starke has described as "generic cross-dressing" is Virginia Woolf's own *Orlando* (1928), which caused confusion among booksellers on its initial publication because its subtitle made them want to put it on the Biography shelf.¹⁴ However, hybrid genre and even generic disguise were common tactics at the Hogarth Press: from children's literature to poetic satires, the publications of the Press often flouted the labels and material features of genre that they carried. Given the association of Virginia Woolf with the Press, many readers are surprised to find that most of the works that appeared under the Hogarth Press imprint differ significantly from the literary modernist experimentalism for which she is commonly known. The unexpected delights on the Press's later list include a children's book about pre-teens who metamorphose into wild beasts; a collection of photographs of death masks, complete with instructions about how these are made; an early film studies publication on the construction of paper silhouette puppets; and an autobiographical account of a journey to a monastery entitled *The 6,000 Beards of Athos* (a book richly illustrated with photographs of the eponymous beards).¹⁵

13 Helen Southworth, 'Introduction,' in *Leonard and Virginia Woolf* (see above, n. 12), pp. 1–26 (p. 1).

14 I have written at length about this episode in "No One Wants Biography": The Hogarth Press Classifies *Orlando*, in Ann Martin and Kathryn Holland, eds., *Interdisciplinary/Multidisciplinary Woolf: Selected Papers from the Twenty-Second Annual International Conference on Virginia Woolf* (Clemson, SC: Clemson University Digital Press, 2013), pp. 243–7.

15 Barbara Baker, *The Three Rings* (London: Hogarth Press, 1944); Ernst Benckard, *Undying Faces: A Collection of Death Masks* (London: Hogarth Press, 1929); Eric Walter White, *Walking Shadows* (London: Hogarth Press, 1931); Ralph Brewster, *The 6,000 Beards of Athos* (London: Hogarth Press, 1935).

As Diane Gillespie indicates, what at first seems uncharacteristic is, in fact, not so surprising if the Press's list is considered in its entirety, rather than being treated solely or even primarily as the publisher of Virginia Woolf's novels.¹⁶ What many of the titles do have in common is that they question the values and presupposed categories of their given field, and the result is a list that has a high proportion of what might be described as genre hybrids. This includes, for instance, biographical poems, international relations books for children, *belle lettres* about music, and novels that look like autobiographies.¹⁷ These works were all outwardly categorized under the "useful" headings of the publisher's own catalogues and advertisements, and their subversions remained between the covers, or sometimes in highly circuitous dust jacket blubs.

Leonard Woolf's approach to the headings of the book trade, therefore, was not to dismiss them altogether but to consider categorisation (of both the Hogarth books and those he encountered in the book world at large) carefully in order to understand patterns in the broader development of particular genres. He offers an analysis of the trends in biographical and autobiographical practice in his *Nation & Athenaeum* article, for example, by adding his own more nuanced classification to the broad category of biography:

[the books on the publishers' lists divide] roughly into three groups, each one representing a definite type. Stated in the briefest way, the first six books are objective, the next three self-conscious, the last three egotistic.

Woolf's subdivision of the broader category of biography in order to isolate different literary methodologies reflects a practice that the Press also adopted. Books appeared in the publishers' lists and in the Press's own advertising materials under recognizable headings, but they frequently also carried paratextual qualifications and refinements to the broader genre that simultaneously highlighted the works' "typicalities" and attended to the individuality of particular titles by characterising their "specific differences."¹⁸

16 Diane Gillespie, 'Please Help Me!: Virginia Woolf, Viola Tree, and the Hogarth Press,' in Derek Ryan and Stella Bolaki, eds., *Contradictory Woolf: Selected Papers From the Twenty-First Annual International Conference on Virginia Woolf* (Clemson, SC: Clemson UP, 2012), pp. 173–80.

17 Conrad Aiken, *Senlin: A Biography* (London: Hogarth Press, 1925); Kathleen Innes, *The Story of the League of Nations Told for Young People* (London: Hogarth Press, 1925); Robert Hull, *Contemporary Music* (London: Hogarth Press, 1927); Henry Green, *Pack My Bag* (London: Hogarth Press, 1940).

18 Woolf, 'Biographies and Autobiographies,' (see above, n. 1), 250.

“Are Too Many Books Written and Published?”: The Hogarth Press and the Book Trade

The 1927 BBC radio broadcast, “Are Too Many Books Written and Published?” in which Leonard and Virginia Woolf debate the title question (Leonard taking the “yes” side and Virginia the “no,”) offers two views of the complexity of addressing a crowded field.¹⁹ The radio debate is especially illuminating when read in the context of the Press’s emphasis on new and unusual writing, and the Woolfs’ positioning of their own venture within the wider world of books. Virginia Woolf’s comments in this broadcast come mostly from her own experiences as a reader, while Leonard’s stem from his point of view as a professional publisher. Virginia Woolf argues that the same people (“professional writers”) write too many similar books, but that a great advantage with the proliferation of print is the opportunity for classes and groups of people who would not previously have been able to do so to publish their works:

As a reader, I deplore the fact that I am catered for almost wholly by professional writers. Only scholars write about Latin and Greek; only famous people write their lives or have their lives written by others . . . I should offer a prize to induce people who had never written a book to write one – preferably an autobiography.²⁰

Here Virginia Woolf expresses her frustration with a publishing world that continues to allow mediocre professional writers to produce a book a year despite the possibility that these might not be as interesting as new books by new writers. She also suggests that specialisations might homogenize in an undesirable way: if readers other than scholars were to write about Latin and Greek, fresh insights might result from the lack of professional experience. The Hogarth Press advocated for just these kinds of writers, “people who had never written a book” sometimes, but also people who, like Woolf herself, wanted to write a different kind of book than would likely be accepted by mainstream publishers, or if it were accepted, would appear in both physical format and content to be consistent with, rather than distinct from, that publisher’s other books. Woolf’s most often quoted comment on the matter appears in her diary: “I can write a book, a better book, a book off my own bat, for the Press if I wish! . . . I’m the

19 Leonard Woolf and Virginia Woolf, ‘Are Too Many Books Written and Published,?’ ed. Melba Cuddy-Keane, *PMLA* 121.1 (2006), 235–43. This was broadcast on 15 July 1927. The script is held at the BBC Written Archives Centre, Caversham, Reading.

20 *Ibid.*, 241.

only woman in England free to write what I like. The others must be thinking of series' and editors."²¹

Leonard Woolf's view, on the other hand, as he expresses it in the debate, is that "what happened to boots has now happened to books" and that mechanized book production has created a "deluge" of books wanting to be best-sellers rather than seeking to be books of good quality, either in their material forms or their contents.²² The two views, as Melba Cuddy-Keane points out, are deliberately polarized to suit the "conversational debate" format of the BBC broadcast, but both nevertheless represent aspects of the Hogarth Press's production and selection process.²³ The shared interest in books beyond the "best-seller" and popular fiction is clear in both of the Woolfs' remarks, despite the apparently divergent opinions they express on the fundamental question. Here, the debate format itself is a genre whose conventions are exploited to produce the same message on both sides: that mainstream publishers produce too much of what seems to the Woolfs to be homogenous work. In his part of the debate, Leonard Woolf also alludes to the "disastrous consequences from an economic point of view" of having so many books produced at once. The economic and cultural forces that shaped the book trade were of great interest to Leonard, and in his autobiography he provides figures for his and Virginia's "earnings as writers" because of the "light which they shed upon the economics of the literary profession in the 20th century."²⁴ Despite the pessimistic position that Leonard Woolf occupies in the debate, he also acknowledges that even if there are, in his view, too many books being produced, "nothing will prevent people from writing books" and the "hopefulness" of publishers will continue to see them published.

The particular kind of "hopefulness" that characterised the Hogarth Press's operations as a publisher made it especially optimistic in its selection and distribution of works.²⁵ Indeed, its willingness to seek out first-time authors supports Virginia Woolf's view that new writers ought to be encouraged. In addition to the explicit aim to reach beyond the ordinary, the Hogarth Press was also an operation that complicated the conventional distinctions of "high-brow," "middlebrow," and "lowbrow" apparent in the institutions and structures

21 Virginia Woolf, *The Diary of Virginia Woolf*, eds. Anne Olivier Bell and Andrew McNeillie, 5 vols (London: Hogarth Press, 1979–85), 3: 43.

22 Woolfs, 'Are Too Many Books Written and Published?' (see above, n. 18), 240.

23 Ibid., 235.

24 See Leonard Woolf, *Beginning Again: An Autobiography of the Years 1911 to 1918* (London: Hogarth Press, 1964), p. 89.

25 Woolfs, 'Are Too Many Books Written and Published?' (see above, n. 18), 243.

of early twentieth-century publishing.²⁶ One example of such a stratifying structure was The Net Book Agreement, made between the Publishers' Association and the Associated Booksellers, which was created to put an end to discount bookselling wars between different retailers. The Net Book Agreement's price-fixing arrangement ensured that booksellers who received books from publishers would sell them at an agreed, fixed retail price depending on the kind and quality of the book. It also reinforced and reflected the stratification of book-buying practices by the public. As Willison explains:

The Agreement can also be considered in terms of a revival of fixed-price differentials, reflected in the stratification of the reading nation into highbrow, middlebrow, and lowbrow publics, and in the conservative, gentlemanly amateurism of publishers and booksellers – though with a number of publishers, ranging from Macmillan to Faber and Faber, in due course, “willing to invest in the copyright of more challenging kinds of literary work.”²⁷

What the price fixing agreement also did, however, was stratify pricing along genre lines, appearing to reinforce distinctions not only between the “brows” but also between literary categories. The standard prices for novels and biographies, then, meant that reader expectations about these kinds of books would be driven partly by price: literary novels, for example, tended to be placed at seven shillings sixpence, and biographies at twelve shillings. While the Hogarth Press fell in line with the agreement up to a point, there were also situations in which they determined genre based upon price for the market, rather than on aesthetic or intrinsic textual features. The Woolfs deliberately edited Viola Tree's autobiographical etiquette book, *Can I Help You?* (1937), for instance, so that it would fit into the novel category on the market, despite the work's non-fictional nature. Leonard wrote to Tree emphasising the desirable format (“I think the book should be the ordinary novel size”), and as a result suggested

26 The stratification of reading publics into “brows,” famously articulated by Q.D. Leavis in *Fiction and the Reading Public* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1932), has been a subject of much debate in modernist studies. The founding of the “Middlebrow Network,” a research group undertaking a variety of recovery projects to rehabilitate these kinds of novels which are often neglected in favour of a focus on supposedly “highbrow” modernist works, is just one example of the ways in which cultural labels and stratifications have been used in scholarly discussions of the early-twentieth-century book trade.

27 I.R. Willison, ‘The Recent Development of the History of the Book,’ *Publishing History* 66.1 (2009), 77–87, there 87.

that she cut down the length and remove some of the illustrations.²⁸ The book was eventually sold at the standard novel price of seven shillings sixpence. This positioning in the marketplace adds to the work's complexity in terms of genre, since the price of the volume reflects its "ordinary novel size" rather than its etiquette-book contents.

Throughout the period 1917–1946, the Press kept its mandate to publish "work of merit that the ordinary publisher refuses." It simply turned out that there was more of this kind of work, and more variety to it, than the Woolfs had originally imagined. The outsourcing of production work to commercial printers and the sharing of tasks such as reading manuscripts, commenting on drafts, and managing day-to-day correspondence (with friends, dedicated employees, servants, and Hogarth Press authors) became part of the everyday operations of the Press, increasingly so through the 1930s and into the 1940s.²⁹ However, the Press retained, well into the 1930s, some of its original practices of producing slim volumes with hand-marbled covers and end papers, and sometimes with books set, printed and bound by hand. An example of this practice from Virginia Woolf's *oeuvre* is the limited run of 250 numbered, signed copies of *On Being Ill* published in 1930.³⁰ These kinds of specialized books were easy to sell to collectors and friends in very small runs, but much less likely to generate large sales figures or to reach wider audiences. One way of managing the demands of the marketplace while at the same time publishing whatever seemed to be "of merit" was to run the full range of production numbers. This is something that the Hogarth Press did. Its smallest commercial print run was approximately 150 copies and its largest runs for best-sellers went up to 30,000.³¹ The use of variable production numbers and printing

28 Leonard Woolf to Viola Tree, 7 June 1937. Reading, University of Reading Special Collections, Records of the Hogarth Press (hereafter HP), MS 2750/496. Quoted with permission from The University of Sussex and The Society of Authors as the Literary Representative of the Estate of Leonard Woolf, and Penguin Random House UK.

29 In each of the HP files on individual texts there is a folder on "production" which includes sample pages, production costs, invoices from R&R Clark and other commercial printers that the Press employed, as well as corrections and emendations. These production papers indicate the specific nature of the commercial relationship between the printers and the Press itself.

30 Virginia Woolf, *On Being Ill* (London: Hogarth Press, 1930).

31 By "commercial" I mean that 150 was the smallest run of books that was printed for sale by the Press. The smallest actual run was 50 copies of Harold Nicolson's "Jeanne de Hénaut" but that was a privately printed and specially commissioned work, which was only distributed among friends. Frequently, as in the case of Vita Sackville-West's *The Edwardians* (1930), the Press would produce a limited, special run of 150 copies sold privately to

techniques provided a model that allowed the Press to differentiate production based on the expected sales of a work, and therefore to accommodate different sizes of audiences.

In its own publications the Press also found a place to stage its interactions with the book trade's "organized self-conscious entities" and professional organisations operating in the early twentieth century.³² The Hogarth Press's interest in new writers, the kind of writers for whom Virginia Woolf advocates in "Are Too Many Books Written and Published?" is documented in one of the Press's own pamphlets. In *The Cock Robin's Decease* (1928), Edward John Thompson – poet and editor of the "Sixpenny Poets" series published by Ernest Benn – describes the "sixpennyng" of poetry as an undervaluing of the genre by the public.³³ The book is structured as what Thompson describes as "An Irregular Inquest" (a characteristically inventive genre description) in which he enacts a trial to condemn the murderer of poetry in contemporary society. He acquits poets, publishers, and the public, and condemns reviewers and their editors. He explains that "poetry cannot expect, nor do poets as a rule worry at not getting, the sales of novels and the more exciting kind of memoirs," and suggests that the problem remains that new poets have very few publishers to choose from who will accept work by unknown writers.³⁴ Thompson mentions the Hogarth Press as a "partial exception" to the rule that new poets will not be published by established publishing houses, and while it might be that the writer is praising the publisher of his own volume in a biased way, the Press's list supports his notion that new poets were welcome.³⁵ Thompson's sense that, "it is a matter of notorious truth that publishers are grossly commercial in outlook, and blind to all excellence except of the marketable sort. No one will expect me, an author, to stand up for them" indicates that part of the value of the Hogarth Press was that it was perceived to be exceptional in advocating "freedom and freshness of thinking."³⁶ The difference that Thompson highlights between the small audience for poetry and the greater

friends of the author and of the Press for 25s. each, and also a trade publication that would sell for the regular 7s/6d. See J. Howard Woolmer, *A Checklist of the Hogarth Press, 1917–1946* (Revere: Brotherson, 1986), pp. 86, 28.

32 Virginia Woolf, *The Essays of Virginia Woolf*, eds. Andrew McNeillie and Stuart N. Clarke, 6 vols (London: Hogarth Press, 1966–2012), 2: 49.

33 Edward John Thompson, *The Cock Robin's Decease* (London: Hogarth Press, 1928). Thompson was also the author of an important publication on India, *The Other Side of the Medal* (London: Hogarth Press, 1925).

34 Thompson, *Cock Robin's Decease* (see above, n. 33), p. 22.

35 *Ibid.*, p. 11.

36 *Ibid.*, p. 14.

interest in fiction and “the more exciting kind of memoir” indicates that print run numbers and retail prices were often, pragmatically, assigned along genre lines. While the Press aimed to publish work that would question and complicate genre distinctions, it also adhered, at least on the surface, to expected categories because the Woolfs recognized their importance to readers and the book trade.

Categorisation and Advertising at the Hogarth Press

An essential component of the publisher’s practice, in keeping with the “commercial outlook” that Thompson criticized, was advertising.³⁷ Like most publishers, the Hogarth Press supplemented its advertisements in weekly periodicals and its notices of new books appeared in the jackets of their other publications with catalogues. The “Complete Catalogue of Publications arranged under Subjects to the Summer of 1939,” introduces the idea of categorisation or grouping by subject as a way of communicating the Press’s list to the public. The document is a rather lavish one by the standards of Hogarth Press advertisements. Vanessa Bell designed the cover (see Figure 7.1).

While the Press produced a number of circulars and seasonal announcements, including categorized catalogues in 1934, 1936, and 1939, I take the fullest one, from 1939, as my example here. In contrast with the catalogue’s method of grouping books by subject, other publicity materials would often equivocate about genre, providing sufficient descriptive detail to allow a book to be assessed based on the descriptions rather than from a clear affiliation with a particular kind or type.

Figure 7.2 represents the distribution of the Press’s books by “subject” according to their own catalogue. There are limits to the reliability of the Press catalogue as a quantitative resource, since there are obvious errors and omissions (Ruth Manning-Sanders’s poem *Martha-Wish-You-Ill* (1926), for instance, appears in the catalogue as *Martha-Wish-You-Well*). Such vague headings as “General” allow for a small number of books to remain entirely uncategorized. The Press also only categorizes those books that were in print, though it does list the “Out of Print” publications in the front and back matters. However, the graphic representation of books along genre grouping shows the diversity of the Press’s materials:

This chart gives a rough idea of the distribution of the catalogue but, because of the “Out of Print” titles and the overlap of genres, it does not give a full

37 Ibid.

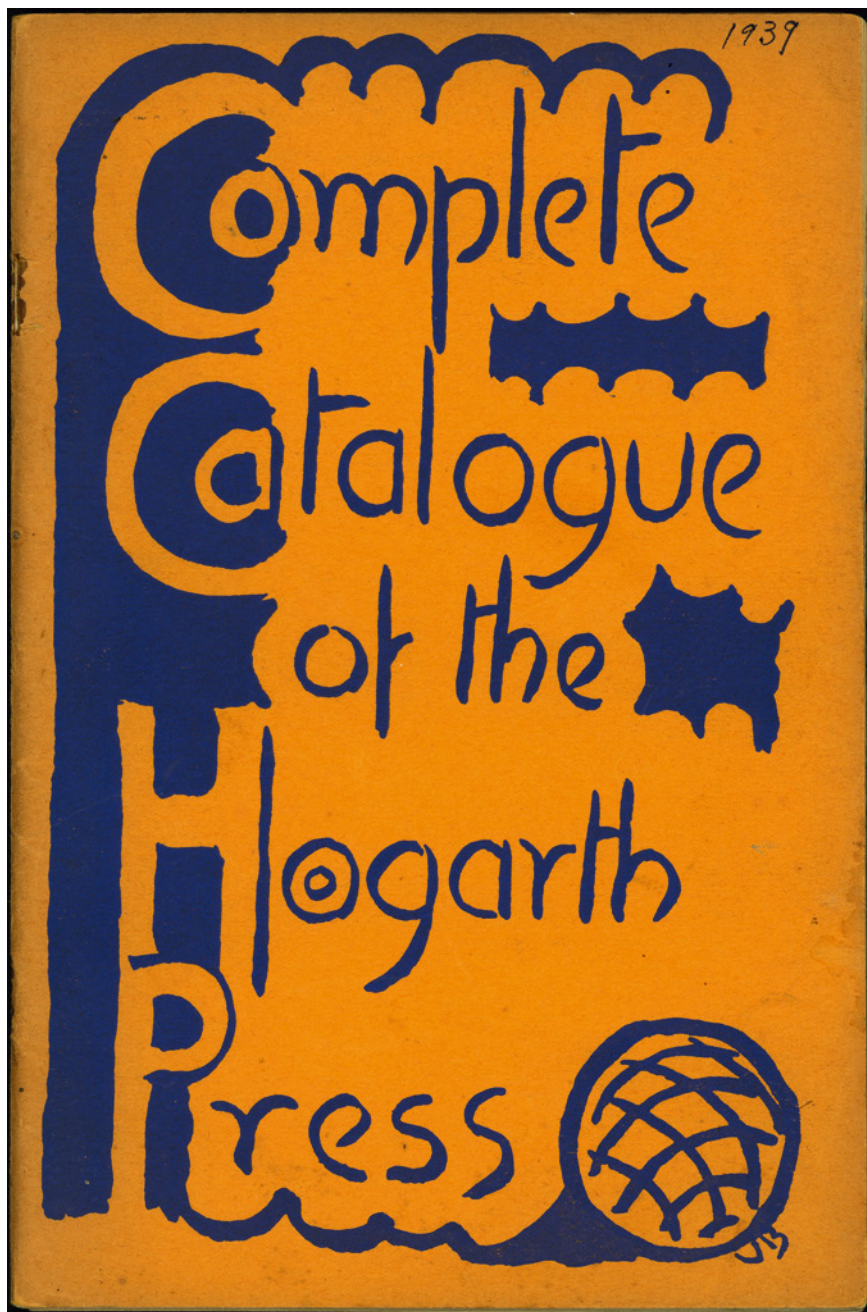


FIGURE 7.1 1939 *Hogarth Press complete catalogue*

IMAGE COURTESY OF E.J. PRATT LIBRARY SPECIAL COLLECTIONS, VICTORIA
UNIVERSITY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO. © ESTATE OF VANESSA BELL,
COURTESY HENRIETTA GARNETT

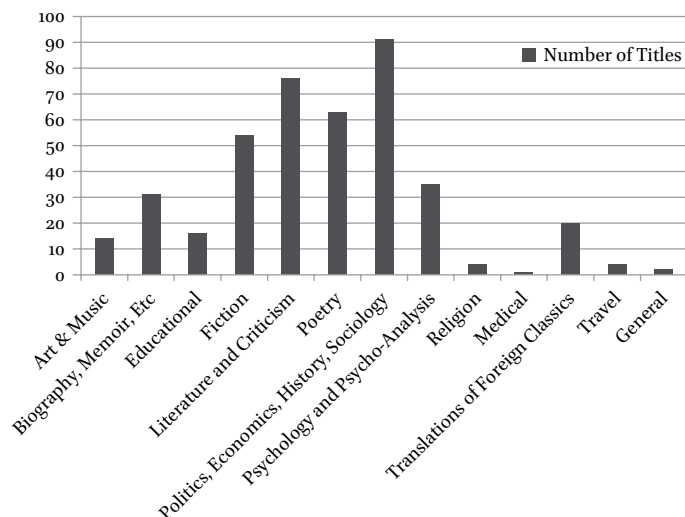


FIGURE 7.2 *Distribution of titles by genre in the 1939 Hogarth Press catalogue*

account of the output of the Press and I am deliberately tentative in drawing conclusions from this analysis. Since the purpose of this chapter is to interrogate the idea of categorisation, it is overly simplistic to assign categories in the arbitrary way that the Press itself questioned. Some of the books, for example, appear in more than one category, which renders the total number represented in the chart (and in the catalogue from which the number is derived) higher than the total number of separate titles that the Press had actually published by 1939. This disjunction is an interesting one, since Figure 7.2 represents the works as they were being advertised in 1939, and this does not directly correspond with the Press's complete output. That marketing practices made the Hogarth Press appear as though it published more titles than it did indicates that the categories could be used to the Press's advantage in some perhaps unexpected ways, including as a method for suggesting a greater number of works than was actually available. In his work on circulating libraries, Simon Eliot notes that one of the difficulties of working with catalogues is that the books are often listed twice: once under author and once under title, so all counts need to be halved.³⁸ The doubling in the Hogarth Press catalogue is not as systematic, but the quantitative problem of doubled entries is certainly

38 Simon Eliot, *Some Patterns and Trends in British Publishing, 1800–1919* (London: The Bibliographical Society, 1994), p. 34.

shared. What is perhaps most significant about Figure 7.2 in relation to the Press's genre categorisations is the relatively even distribution of kinds of books. Even the best-represented category ("Politics, Economics, History, and Sociology," at 22%) comprises less than a quarter of the Press's total output on its own. Far from being a list dominated by a single category, the variety of the Press's output is apparent from the distribution of texts across genres. Specialisations in "Fiction," "Literature and Criticism," "Politics," and "Poetry" are apparent, with "Biographies," "Psycho-Analytical texts," and "Translations of Foreign Classics" emerging as prominent categories as well, but none of these single groups emerges as the dominant focus of the Press.

While the 1939 catalogue groups by "subject," the headings sometimes relate to form and sometimes to content, and could, in most cases, be more accurately described as genre distinctions. "Fiction," and "Poetry and Drama" for instance, are not quite "subjects" in the way that, for instance, "Medicine" is, and many of the categories conflate subject matter and form ("Poetry and Drama" is a list of books of poems and plays, rather than books *about* poetry, which fall under "Literature and Criticism"). "Biography, Memoir, Etc." is one of the most open-ended, with its "Etc." to catch all the strays that may or may not be traditionally associated with the heading. Even the catalogue, with its appearance of definitiveness, is indeterminate and complex. Some works appear in more than one category, and the aim appears to be to introduce readers to the books in which they might be interested, rather than to pin down the specific group to which a work must belong. Genre here is a tool for the Press and is used in a pragmatic way for both commercial and social purposes: in order to sell books and to create intellectual interest in them.

Generic codes are also being used as shorthand for the longer descriptions in advertisements and on dust jackets. S.P. Rosenbaum asks the question of who wrote the dust jacket blurbs for the Hogarth Press?³⁹ While my suspicion is that in this, as in other things, the Press's practices likely changed over the years, the usual practice by the 1930s, according to the Hogarth Press Business Archives, was for the Press Secretary – or, in the case of personal acquaintance, Leonard or Virginia Woolf – to contact the author and ask him or her to provide the blurb as well as the biographical material about the author that should appear alongside the book.

One example is Lyn Irvine's *Ten Letter Writers* (1932) which appeared in the catalogue under "Biography, Memoir, Etc.," and has the following genre-defying dust jacket description:

39 S.P. Rosenbaum, *Leonard and Virginia Woolf at the Hogarth Press* (Austin: University of Texas at Austin, 1995), p. 6.

This study of three French and seven English letter-writers begins with Dorothy Osborne and Madame de Sévigné and ends with Mrs. Carlyle. But rather than a collection of biographical and critical sketches it is a discussion of self-expression and character through three centuries, dealing with such matters as feminine talent, the changes in sense of humour, and the contrast between the eighteenth century and the nineteenth.⁴⁰

The reluctance to describe this book simply as “biographical” or “critical” as opposed to one concerned with “self-expression and character” points to an emphasis on the human values at stake in the book rather than the external categorisation or formal descriptions that might be placed upon them. In her introduction, Irvine explains that letters are subject to repetitiveness and “the disproportions of life itself,” warning that “we must not expect to be amused all the time” when “we read of Mrs. Carlyle’s headaches and Mme du Deffand’s sleeplessness and Lord Byron’s perpetual need of tooth-powder and Cowper’s gratitude for fish.”⁴¹ Irvine’s reflections on the value of letters as non-selected, potentially tedious sheaves of trivial observations and the alignment of letters with “life itself,” appeals to immediacy and biographical significance.⁴² *Ten Letter-Writers* seems to nest the art of the epistle within a biographical, historical, and critical frame, allowing each of these genres to be in dialogue with the others, all in the service of “self-expression and character.”⁴³

Despite some resistance to genre categories as over-determined labels, publishers need to know what kind of works they are producing in order to be able to convince readers that books are worthwhile. Making sense of a complicated, expansive mass of books necessarily involves categorisation, selection, and description of these categories. In the case of *Ten Letter-Writers*, for example, the categories of “criticism” and “biography” are invoked, if only to suggest that the book does something more. The idea of judging books primarily on individual “merit” was a value that both of the Woolfs expressed, but not all readers are like them, and the tendency of contemporary publishers to rely on genre as a key aspect of marketing is testament to this fact. The Hogarth Press’s capacious mandate heightens the role of genre as an interface between publisher, reader, and the book trade, but also complicates it by frequently exploiting and

40 Lyn Irvine, *Ten Letter Writers* (London: Hogarth Press, 1932), dust jacket.

41 Irvine, *Ten Letter Writers* (see above, n. 40), p. 6.

42 Ibid.

43 Ibid.

transgressing the outward markers of generic affiliation. While genre designations are important in establishing readerships and readerly expectations, the broad categories and labels often prove insufficient when addressing a variety of complex works. Since the Hogarth Press cast a wide net for selection, the restrictiveness of categorisation often proves problematic, but it also offers an opportunity for reflections on the nature of genre and its role in the world of books.

Alec Craig, Censorship and the Literary Marketplace: A Bookman's Struggles

Richard Espley

Alec Craig (1897–1973) was a passionate and committed campaigner, widely published, and embedded in a diffuse movement of progressive societies for over four decades. Undoubtedly his deepest commitment was his opposition to literary censorship, and he distinguished himself from contemporaries in this debate with a depth of knowledge and suspicion of established, bivalent discourses concerning the obscene and the valuable. Craig is now largely forgotten, often merely a footnote in histories of censorship. To an extent, he foresaw and understood this outcome, suggesting that he made “ever diminishing demands with ever diminishing hope.”¹ Craig sought to shape debate by pushing at the extreme edge of demands for reform, pragmatically stating of his arguments that “I am well aware that the suggestions . . . will satisfy no one.”² Whatever his achievements, this chapter does not seek primarily to reclaim Craig as a major literary figure, but will explore his writing as a critique of, and a case study in, the convoluted attitudes to the cultural and commercial handling of books. In the process, many of Craig’s arguments (as well as his seeming failures) will emerge as prescient pathways to a more informed, less legalistic handling of the culturally uncomfortable.

Craig’s first published work was *Sex and Revolution* (1934), an ambitious attempt to describe and champion what he saw as a fundamental attitudinal change towards sexual morality that he branded “modernist.” In many ways a *cri de coeur* foreshadowing all of his later work, the volume embraced a diverse range of social causes, all united by Craig’s perception of the cultural inability to discuss sexuality. For example, it sets forth a programme of reforms including easier divorce, legal abortion, the decriminalisation of homosexuality, the abandonment of legal restrictions on the illegitimate and the promotion of nudism. His idea of the “modernist” is idiosyncratic, but he suggests that such a figure “sees human desire and looks on it with kindly eyes.”³ Craig’s first

1 Alec Craig, *The Aspirin Eaters* (London: Fortune, 1943), pp. 6–7.

2 Alec Craig, *The Banned Books of England and Other Countries: A Study of the Conception of Literary Obscenity* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1962), p. 208.

3 Alec Craig, *Sex and Revolution* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1934), p. 62.

prescription for an ailing society was the abandonment of legal restriction on sexual expression, so that society might rejoice in lovers' "reciprocal fulfilment if this can be brought about without injury to human life."⁴ The second recommendation he urged was the education of all men and women in sexual matters. In a culture bristling with pamphleteers and campaigners he found supportive institutions and with one such body, the Federation of Progressive Societies and Individuals, Craig organised a series of lectures for the young. These were held in the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine in 1935, entitled "Elementary Sexology."⁵ This attempt to rebuild society, one lecture theatre at a time, speaks loudly to Craig's immersion in a moment of utopian social optimism in the decades after the First World War, with his own libertarian instincts arguably shaped by trauma on the Western Front in 1917.

Emerging from this crusade was *The Banned Books of England and Other Countries* (1937), by far Craig's most influential work, and that which achieved something closest to commercial success. This was a historical survey of, and manifesto against, censorship. As Craig himself pointed out, "there is no literary censorship in England in the true sense of the word," but rather a complex legal agglomeration around the concept of 'libel' which he set out to critique and hopefully dismantle.⁶ Drawing on the Obscene Publications Act of 1857 but also various other legal instruments, the state and its organs could prosecute, destroy or seize books in a perplexing variety of ways, from confiscation and burning by Her Majesty's Customs to summary banning by magistrates. Craig's objections were manifold, but one of the most pressing was "the deprivation which the community suffers" as a result of literary suppression.⁷ As a cause of such suffering, he saw publishers' fear of prosecution as more significant than the direct effect of the law itself: "it must not be thought that the number of prosecutions is a measure of the amount of literary suppression . . . many books never reach publication for fear of the law."⁸

The public debate over censorship, or rather as Craig put it the "conflict between liberal and authoritarian ideas," had not subsided since the prosecution of Radclyffe Hall's *The Well of Loneliness* in 1928.⁹ As Alan Travis remarks,

4 Ibid., p. 63.

5 See Alec Craig, 'An experiment in adult education,' in John Haden Badley and Mary Ware Dennett, eds., *Experiments in Sex Education* (London: Federation of Progressive Societies and Individuals, 1935), pp. 39–45.

6 Craig, *Banned Books* (see above, n. 2), p. 19.

7 Alec Craig, *Above All Liberties* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1942), p. 97.

8 Craig, *Banned Books* (see above, n. 2), p. 43.

9 Ibid., p. 208.

this trial, initiated by Home Secretary Sir William Joynson-Hicks – “the puritanical purge of publishing” – “was to prove the low point in the twentieth-century history of British literary censorship” in terms of the reputation of the legal system.¹⁰ As publisher of the novel, Jonathan Cape’s attempts to control the accusations, initially by appearing to co-operate with the Home Secretary and then moving printing to Paris, were both disastrous, and only served to increase the timidity of other presses. The trial was important because of the degree to which members of the literary establishment were prepared to defend the novel, and also in that it established by precedent a guiding principle that virtually no expert testimony on a book was admissible.¹¹ As the Magistrate remarked, “I don’t think people are entitled to express what is merely an opinion upon a matter which is for the decision of the court.”¹² More remarkably still, on appeal the defence was informed that it was neither “appropriate nor practicable” for the bench to read the book in question.¹³ Such developments built upon a legal framework where the motivation of the author, publisher, or bookseller was uniquely inadmissible for “in obscenity cases alone, the question of motive was irrelevant to the issue of guilt.”¹⁴ As many commentators have made clear, had such laws been applied universally, “it would have reduced the ranks of English literature to the level of the nursery.”¹⁵ Virginia Woolf suggested that to abide by the law in all instances, modern books would have to become “so insipid, so blameless, so full of blank spaces and evasions that we cannot read them.”¹⁶ This near-inescapable web of restriction discouraged publishers both from releasing potentially controversial works, and from defending them upon any complaint. The risk, the expense and the damage to prestige were all the publisher’s; as Craig’s own publisher, Sir Stanley Unwin phrased it, “the position is by no means easy.”¹⁷

10 Alan Travis, *Bound and Gagged: A Secret History of Obscenity in Britain* (London: Profile, 2000), pp. 46, 45.

11 Diana Souhami has analysed the lack of real engagement with the novel shown by such figures, though many were happy to be associated with its defence. See Diana Souhami, *The Trials of Radclyffe Hall* (London: Virago, 1999).

12 Craig, *Banned Books* (see above, n. 2), p. 38.

13 *Ibid.*, p. 40.

14 Travis, *Bound and Gagged* (see above, n. 10), p. 7.

15 *Ibid.*

16 Virginia Woolf, ‘The Censorship of Books,’ *The Nineteenth Century and After*, 105 (1929), 446–7, there 447.

17 Stanley Unwin, ‘Introduction,’ in John Hampden, ed., *The Book World Today: A New Survey of the Making and Distribution of Books in Britain* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1957), pp. 9–16 (p. 12).

Arguing strenuously against the logic and moral intentions of the legal framework, Craig demanded reform on the basis that the current law could not, for reasons of practicality amongst many others, be applied universally and fairly. As he pointed out, “a law which is only invoked arbitrarily and spasmodically ceases to be a law in the true sense of the word.”¹⁸

While Craig advanced various options for reform, his ultimate position in *The Banned Books of England* and its companion volume, *Above All Liberties* (1942), was the necessity of “making literature free from all shackles legal, economic and social.”¹⁹ Indeed, he suggested that this was “essential to the continuance of civilisation as we know it.”²⁰ Such sonorous, unequivocal demands for freedom are easily assimilated into a wider cultural perception of artists and writers of the period as “culture heroes . . . champions of free expression and avatars of sexual liberation.”²¹ At his most bombastic, Craig sometimes presents the situation as a clear, Manichean struggle between progressive literature and what he came to call with increasing bile the “censor-morons,” representatives of “reactionary authoritarianism, fanatical puritanism, official stupidity.”²²

Celia Marshik suggests in her study, *British Modernism and Censorship* (2006), that the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were marked by authors who “inscribed themselves in the social text as bold defenders of artistic freedom.”²³ Such a posture could be motivated by a desire to increase the speaker’s prestige. As Elisabeth Ladenson points out, “subversion and transgression” of the restrictions of censorship “had become positive values in themselves.”²⁴ Such a pursuit of prestige clouds any easy conclusions about literary and artistic attitudes to censorship. As John Carey’s influential analysis emphasises, while the significance of art was “reckoned to be directly proportionate to its ability to outrage and puzzle the mass,” the “truly meritorious in art is seen as the prerogative of a minority.”²⁵ While Craig’s message found a receptive audience, such an attitude to transgression could have been born not of a passion for freedom but from this elitist stance. In one passage in

18 Craig, *Banned Books* (see above, n. 2), p. 79.

19 Craig, *Above All Liberties* (see above, n. 7), p. 108.

20 Ibid., p. 109.

21 Loren Glass, ‘The Ends of Obscenity,’ *American Literary History*, 21 (2009), 869–76, there 869.

22 Craig, *Banned Books* (see above, n. 2), pp. 194–5.

23 Celia Marshik, *British Modernism and Censorship* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2006), p. 5.

24 Elisabeth Ladenson, *Dirt for Art’s Sake: Books on Trial from Madame Bovary to Lolita* (London: Cornell UP, 2007), p. xx.

25 John Carey, *The Intellectuals and the Masses: Pride and Prejudice among the Literary Intelligentsia, 1880–1939* (London: Faber and Faber, 1992), p. 18.

The Banned Books of England, for instance, Craig laments the practice of protecting books from obscenity prosecutions by high prices, suggesting that “ideas that have been current coin among the well-to-do educated for more than a quarter of a century are unfamiliar to the equally well-educated of the less affluent ranks of society.”²⁶ Despite Craig’s seemingly unlimited demands for freedom and the myth of modernism’s opposition to censorship in all of its forms, clear limits were adopted in the championing of literary freedom. Examining the shape of such limits provides a pattern of categorical distinctions that illuminate the cultural and commercial realities underlying the rhetoric of freedom as championed by Craig and many modernist writers.

**“Few People Would Like to See it in the Hands of the
General Public”²⁷**

While recognising censorship as an unwelcome and repressive force, many of Craig’s fellow writers saw the literary marketplace as infected with one distinguishable commodity that could happily be abandoned to the censor: pornography. E.M. Forster, who would write a foreword for *The Banned Books of England*, felt confident that pornographic works “are easily detected and classified, for the reason that their aim is not literature, but physical provocativeness.”²⁸ Virginia Woolf, a little more euphemistically, defined this class of writings as those created with the “object of causing pleasure or corruption by means of their indecency.”²⁹ Both writers advocated the censorship of such material. This chapter does not seek to define or quantify the material which such figures identified as pornography, though it is worthy of remark that the history of such a trade remains largely unexplored. It is however vital to stress the insistence of many writers on the observable validity of the category of pornography. This is true even of those of the most libertarian views; for example, D.H. Lawrence insisted that he “would censor genuine pornography, rigorously. It would not be very difficult.”³⁰ In all of these cases, what is compelling about the idea of pornography, regardless of its reality, is its power to disrupt calls for literary and artistic freedom.

26 Craig, *Banned Books* (see above, n. 2), p. 168.

27 Ibid., p. 153.

28 E.M. Forster, ‘The Censorship of Books,’ *The Nineteenth Century and After*, 105 (1929), 444–5, there 444.

29 Woolf, ‘Censorship,’ (see above, n. 16), there 446.

30 D.H. Lawrence, *Pornography and Obscenity* (London: Faber and Faber, 1929), p. 12.

Craig was suspicious of the ease with which writers such as Woolf or Forster could define the pornographic. For example, of their idea of it residing in authorial intention, he objects "this is entirely unsatisfactory, for who is to look into the mind of the author?"³¹ He further concedes that a focus on the effect on the reader "is hopelessly subjective" as "what stimulates one person will not stimulate another."³² However, Craig did believe in the objective existence of pornography, and cited one writer as example repeatedly, the Marquis de Sade, whose works he describes simply as "evil."³³ With de Sade he is confident, in terms that recall the most determined anti-vice campaigner, that "to any ordinary mind it is revolting" and that "few people would like to see it in the hands of the general public."³⁴ The contrast to his claims for liberty is striking, although he simultaneously concedes that there are discourses in which even such material may have value: "when written by a man of the ability of de Sade this type of pornography has a certain legitimate interest not only to the alienist and the sexological specialist but to the literary man."³⁵ Alive to the problematic nature of defining pornography, Craig is attuned to the literary avant-garde of his time and their attempts to erode the distinction between literature and the obscene. For example, Craig champions *Ulysses*, saying that "the literary importance of the work is beyond all cavil"; as Alison Pease has remarked, Joyce's "appropriations of pornographic tropes and images" served to "shape our understanding of . . . literature such that its difference from pornography in both function and form has been made less clear."³⁶

In this light, Craig's treatment of de Sade seems a reflection of contemporary literary culture, but he is still incongruously unwilling to abandon the idea of pornography as a separate and identifiable category: "if we want free literature we must bear with pornography."³⁷ The idea of pornography as a recognisable element of the book world seems inescapable and to require no exploration, so that for example John Feather suggests in his landmark history of British publishing that "no account of Victorian publishing is complete without pornography" (he then spares it less than one page).³⁸ Its acknowledged existence as something which will not be discussed permits a discussion.

31 Craig, *Above All Liberties* (see above, n. 7), p. 170.

32 Ibid., p. 164.

33 Craig, *Banned Books* (see above, n. 2), p. 153.

34 Ibid.

35 Craig, *Above All Liberties* (see above, n. 7), p. 174.

36 Ibid., p. 25; Alison Pease, *Modernism, Mass Culture and the Aesthetics of Obscenity* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2000), p. 165.

37 Craig, *Sex and Revolution* (see above, n. 3), p. 70.

38 John Feather, *A History of British Publishing* (London: Routledge, 2005), p. 128.

Indeed, it seems at least plausible to suggest that for Craig the idea of pornography was indispensable, even if in practice not one unambiguous example of it could be provided. The structural schema this suggests, with a hierarchy of meaning resting upon a condemned if inexact foundation, has a fascinating analogy with the structuring of the world of books and bookmen in which Craig situated himself and upon which he relied for support and a voice.

The Book World: "Responsible London Publishers," and the Rest

The book world was a self-consciously constructed sector, as works such as *The Book World* (1935) and *The Book World Today* (1957) testify, as do the many biographies and memoirs offered to the public by those from these professions.³⁹ As a body, the trade was united against censorship and they sought to bring control of published material back within their own hands. For example, Stanley Unwin speaks of possible legal reforms that would "be accepted by, and secure the wholehearted co-operation of, all responsible publishers," as if firms had special rights and such co-operation were not a matter of legal obligation.⁴⁰ Craig also suggests a system of self-regulation, as "most writers would agree" that "a sense of responsibility is proper" and "the question of proper caution must be left to the writer and the critic."⁴¹ He further insists that "I see no reason why the law should attempt to make this responsibility a legal obligation."⁴² Elsewhere he argued that "a man should defer to the judgment of his intellectual peers and of his fellow writers," arguing that "I believe that there is such a thing as literary conscience among us to-day."⁴³ The book trade is here presented as a case apart, following a higher discourse. Craig's arguments and metaphors frequently amount to a sleight of hand that seeks to use the censorship debate to sanctify the book trade. For example, he suggested of interminable court proceedings that "so long as we chase the bogey of 'pornography' we cannot be, we cannot expect to be, a free and civilised community."⁴⁴ This is

39 See for example Frank Swinnerton, *A London Bookman* (London: Martin Secker, 1928); James Milne, *Memoirs of a Bookman* (London: John Murray, 1936); Joseph Shaylor, *Sixty Years a Bookman* (London: Selwyn & Blount, 1923).

40 Unwin, 'Introduction,' to Hampden, ed., *Book World Today* (see above, n. 17), p. 13.

41 Craig, *Banned Books* (see above, n. 2), p. 159.

42 Ibid.

43 Alec Craig, 'The Conception of Literary Obscenity and the Freedom of Letters,' in Herman Ould, ed., *Freedom of Expression: A Symposium* (London: Hutchinson International Authors, 1944), pp. 135–40 (p. 139).

44 Craig, *Above All Liberties* (see above, n. 7), p. 189.

a powerful, but ultimately vague demand, yet it is followed with the remarkable comparison that such pursuit “is no more consistent with civilisation than witch-hunting, to which it bears a close psychological resemblance.”⁴⁵ The bold analogy between a process that led directly to death and physical suffering and the restrictions placed upon publishing equates bodies and books, while simultaneously concealing questions of the value of individual texts.

Craig’s exclusive “us” in his proclamation of a “literary conscience among us” refers to the community of publishers and authors, but the world of bookmen was not as unified as such phrases suggest. Rather, as Carey argues of the literati, the publishing industry was deeply and energetically stratified in a process that Mary Hammond has called “qualitative categorisation” which applied to both firms and their products.⁴⁶ As Nicola Wilson suggests of fiction but in ways which hold true for all publishing endeavours, “as the audience . . . became more diverse and stratified, so too did the novel as a form.”⁴⁷ One instance of the operative power of such structuring is apparent in response to the perceived censorship of attempts to advertise Craig’s first work. Allen & Unwin took out an advertisement for *Sex and Revolution* in *The Listener* which was removed without warning before publication, presumably because of the first word of the title. It might be imagined that Unwin would react with the full force of Craig’s own arguments of freedoms and civilised discourse. Instead he chose to ask Geoffrey Faber to write on his behalf, and that letter focuses on the financial realities of the literary marketplace. Faber tersely mentions that his firm “advertises a good deal in ‘The Listener,’” and suggests that if such decisions became common the magazine would not be “as useful an advertising medium for us as it has been in the past.”⁴⁸ While Faber hesitates to delineate the patterns of commerce, he is clearly thinking of both *The Listener*’s need for advertisers, and his own company’s need to advertise. His reluctance to admit this openly will be returned to, but his only contribution to the ethical dimension of the incident is to stress that the advertisements he places are for “our serious publications,” and that Craig’s book is similarly discussing its subject matter “honestly and seriously.”⁴⁹

45 Ibid.

46 Mary Hammond, *Reading, Publishing and the Formation of Literary Taste in England, 1880–1914* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), p. 5.

47 Nicola Wilson, ‘Libraries, Reading Patterns, and Censorship,’ in *The Oxford History of the Novel in English*, 12 vols. (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2011–), 4: 36–51 (p. 37).

48 Geoffrey Faber to R.S. Lambert, 7 May 1935. Reading, University of Reading Special Collections (hereafter UoR), Records of George Allen & Unwin, MS 3282, AUC 44/27.

49 Ibid.

The integrity of Faber and Unwin's firms is stressed in this incident in a united front against an unnamed, lesser contingent of the publishing industry, whose books are presumably not serious and which should not be immune from censorship. "Seriousness" is the marker of that qualitative categorisation, where certain publishers – as perhaps the personifications of "literary conscience" – guarantee the appropriateness of the matter they publish. The terms are at best imprecise, and to speak of seriousness evades all mention of subject in ways that would have been regarded as irrelevant in a British court. Arguably, the real force of Faber's argument, outside of the concealed threat to withdraw advertising revenue, is in an indirect denial that this book belongs to another class of publication, the shadowy presence that Woolf, Forster, Lawrence, and even Craig were happy to see censored. As Lawrence Rainey points out when discussing the stratification of book publishing, each strata was clearly valued, so that literature "gradually acquired a class structure analogous to that of the social world surrounding it."⁵⁰ In these terms, Faber tacitly recognises the regrettable existence of a 'lower' class of literature – the pornographic – which might happily be censored, in order to insist that Craig's book does not belong to that underworld.

This is repeated in Stanley Unwin's discussion of the trials of dealing with accusations of obscenity. He describes the police's "almost indiscriminate" seizure of books "in various provincial cities," but stresses that "the seizure of a portion, possibly even of a large portion, of the books was justified."⁵¹ It is striking that Unwin is willing to abandon swathes of the publishing industry to the hands of policemen whom he admits do not trouble to discriminate. There is only a small amount of material which he insists should be immune, and that is "literary works by responsible London publishers."⁵² Responsible London publishers, presumably of serious books, must remain above restrictions, and the adherence to law or reference to definitions of obscenity are not to be discussed. Unwin stresses that "the position of reputable . . . publishers was intolerable" without seeking to define how such firms are to be identified.⁵³ These categorical distinctions have very little to do with "fighting a grim fight against obscurantism, oppression and persecution."⁵⁴ Most pressingly this is a matter of

50 Lawrence Rainey, *Institutions of Modernism: Literary Elites and Public Culture* (New Haven: Yale, 1998), p. 2.

51 Stanley Unwin, *The Truth about a Publisher: An Autobiographical Record* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1960), p. 385.

52 Ibid.

53 Ibid., p. 386.

54 Craig, *Sex and Revolution* (see above, n. 3), p. 75.

corporate status, but even geographical location becomes a criterion by which such things should be judged. Unwin goes on to suggest that in those provincial cities, “where the offending books bore the imprint of a London publisher the case should be referred” to the Home Office rather than leaving it to local police.⁵⁵ Clearly, some firms are their own guarantee of the probity of their work, and for those not lucky enough to claim a London address, the best defence was to reinforce the existence of the disreputable, irresponsible, pornographic press the police sought, in order to distance themselves from it. As Craig did not name one unambiguously pornographic work, so Unwin and Faber do not need to, for by supporting the idea of the existence of such reprehensible books, they emphasise their firms’ (and their products’) elevation above them.

“Not be Harnessed to Material Ends”⁵⁶

It is not merely a matter of prestige which delineates the divisions of publishing, but also, and perhaps most importantly, the pursuit of profit. It has already been seen that Geoffrey Faber was unwilling to admit such a dimension to his business (while covertly pressing it), but this is true in similarly submerged terms across the industry. There is a powerful image in publishing circles of the responsible bookman: literary-minded and working in the service of culture. The commercial realities of the industry, and even those who purchased the books and financed it, are bizarrely absent from many discussions of publishing and censorship. For example, F.D. Sanders, surveying the structure of the book trade in 1957, could remark of the role of the book-buying public that while it was “most important,” it was “sometimes overlooked.”⁵⁷ An appetite for books is often simply assumed in such discourse, with the resulting elision of any sense of the book as a commercial product as it becomes a needed object with its own intrinsic rights to movement and freedom from suffering. In his introduction to Hampden’s second edited collection of essays, Craig’s publisher Stanley Unwin stressed this idea of the quasi-sacred status of books, suggesting with abhorrence that the governmental “ill-treatment of books is . . . due to treating them as ‘just another commodity.’”⁵⁸

55 Unwin, *Truth about a Publisher* (see above, n. 51), p. 386.

56 Craig, *Sex and Revolution* (see above, n. 3), p. 75.

57 F.D. Sanders, ‘The structure of the book trade,’ in John Hampden, ed., *The Book World Today: A New Survey of the Making and Distribution of Books in Britain* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1957), pp. 38–50 (p. 38).

58 Unwin, ‘Introduction,’ to Hampden, ed., *Book World Today* (see above, n. 17), p. 10.

In his study *Popular Reading and Publishing in Britain 1914–1950* (1992), Joseph McAleer has argued that after 1870, British publishing divided into two schools: one the “improving or optimistic school” and the other “wholly commercial and entrepreneurial.”⁵⁹ This tension between improving and commercial can profitably be laid alongside the shifting definitions of the pornographic and the reputable. Both registers of meaning serve to stratify the publishing industry, usually to the benefit of the bookman who is speaking. A rather fraught ambivalence to profit can be seen powering the discussion of Craig’s own work with his publisher, with both parties placing Craig’s writing unquestionably on the side of the “improving or optimistic school.” While interest in profit is repeatedly denied, in the process author and publisher write of little else. In his letter accompanying the manuscript of *Above All Liberties*, for instance, Craig suggested euphemistically that a little advertising may “give the book a good send off.”⁶⁰ Unwin at once reminded Craig that “we have lost money on one of your books, and only just got back out-of-pocket expenses on the other,” but that they would still “like to be connected with the publication.”⁶¹ He cited the cost of paper as a reason to delay, but Craig shamed him by suggesting that “motives on both sides are perhaps not strictly commercial.”⁶² Unwin then magnanimously insisted that while “there is no commercial inducement,” he would take the book on.⁶³ It is worth being clear here that Unwin was an astute and successful businessman who only consented once Craig waived his royalties, and that Craig’s considerable correspondence with other staff at the publishing house was entirely concerned with calculations of monies due for his other titles.

What these letters reveal is a shared need to assert an elevation above the commercial imperative, a stratification comparable to the loud denial of being anything but serious and reputable. The pornographic and the commercial both represent an unpalatable, if unclear, category against which other works can be defined and defended. Indeed, there is subtextual linkage between the two categories in Craig’s works. Whenever he mentions pornography it is shadowed by a suggestion of the commercial, as for example when he speaks of the “vast trade” in London pornography.⁶⁴ Similarly, he is clear what the motivation of the writer of pornography might be, a “disreputable scribbler who seeks to

59 Joseph McAleer, *Popular Reading and Publishing in Britain 1914–1950* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1992), p. 12.

60 Craig to Unwin, 31 March 1941. MS 3282 (see above, n. 48), AUC 109/4.

61 Unwin to Craig, 14 May 1941. Ibid.

62 Craig to Unwin, 17 May 1941. Ibid.

63 Unwin to Craig, 23 May 1941. Ibid.

64 Craig, *Banned Books* (see above, n. 2), p. 21.

turn a dishonest penny.”⁶⁵ He also describes pornographic works as “trundled openly abroad and secretly at home,” where the unusual verb calls to mind the street seller intent on a profit.⁶⁶ Lastly, his most extravagant hope for a society run on “modernist” thinking was that love “will not be harnessed to material ends.”⁶⁷ In other words, love and sex, like literature, are sullied by contact with the market place, which introduces a lower-value discourse.

Such linkage was common in rhetorical and ideological terms amongst Craig’s contemporaries. For example, profitability is an inescapable marginal presence in Havelock Ellis’s statements on obscenity. In *More Essays of Love and Virtue* (1931), Ellis states that “it is law alone which makes pornography both attractive and profitable.”⁶⁸ He accuses the Home Secretary and his civil servants of being “directly responsible for the creation of the ‘filth’ which supplies the demand.”⁶⁹ Profit is here clearly aligned to filth: pornography is fundamentally profitable. In both cases, the idea is present but not quite openly stated, as if to do so would itself be sullying. Every aspect of the production of texts was tied to these polarities of the commercial and the pornographic on the one side, and the high-minded and literary on the other. Virginia Woolf’s 1929 essay on censorship, while inflected with an irony characteristic of the author, makes clear that an overriding interest in commercial matters could even transform the nature of the material sold into pornography. Woolf insists that the law must:

distinguish between books that are written or sold for pornographic purposes and books whose obscenity is an incidental part of them – between Aristotle’s works as they are sold in the rubber goods shops, that is to say, and Aristotle’s works as they are sold in the shops of Messrs. Hatchards and Bumpus.⁷⁰

The “rubber goods shop” is the counterpart to the disreputable publisher, while in the distinguished space of Hatchards bookshop (supplied by firms like Allen & Unwin), essentially the same goods are absolved of commercial interest and pornographic intent. The denial of being pornographers and the denial

65 Craig, *Above All Liberties* (see above, n. 7), p. 173.

66 Craig, *Banned Books* (see above, n. 2), p. 155.

67 Craig, *Sex and Revolution* (see above, n. 3), p. 75.

68 Havelock Ellis, *More Essays of Love and Virtue* (London: Constable, 1931), p. 131.

69 *Ibid.*, p. 137.

70 Woolf, ‘Censorship’ (see above, n. 16), there 447.

of commercialism are mutually supporting. Audience and the means of distribution are all.

That firms were aware of this distinction as an elaborate but not inflexible pose is evident in another of Craig's relations with Allen & Unwin. Amongst the firm's records are readers' reports for two works by Craig which were ultimately not published, and that are now seemingly lost. One was a short account of nudism, of which Craig was told that its length and subject were both awkward. However, the publisher's reader had qualified these opinions with a suggestion for improving its prospects. He suggested that the work "would be difficult to sell in wartime – unless, of course, it was photographically illustrated with a few of the nudes . . . wherein there is no retouching or concealing posture. If there were eight such plates in this in this 50- pp. book, it might sell."⁷¹ "Retouching" was the process by which all suggestion of genitalia or pubic hair was removed from such images, and even the nudist press "continue to observe a tradition of careful posing and . . . retouching."⁷² While this suggestion was not adopted, it was seriously suggested by one of the publisher's most regular readers, and annotations on the original show that it was considered at the publishing house. While maintaining the discourse of the reputable and serious-minded, Allen & Unwin at least proposed the publication of radically explicit photographs in the interest of increased profits.

There is a powerful drive within the publishing industry to structure itself through a heavily freighted avoidance of purely commercial interests. Clearly this drive exists outside of sexual material, but when it collides with issues such as censorship the two rapidly synthesise. There are deeply abiding contradictions where competing drives circle, if neither eradicating nor concealing, cultural unease; pornography is vilified, yet its appeal is universally recognised, and publishers pursue profits they repudiate. What is concealed here is that, as Stallybrass and White put it, "disgust always bears the imprint of desire."⁷³ The recognition of the "striking ambivalence to the representation of the lower strata (of the body, of literature, of society, of place) in which they are both reviled and desired" grants some understanding of the inescapable contradictions inherent in a culture's responses to the drive to censor.⁷⁴ This contradictory flight away from a force which yet holds the speaker in its thrall results, for

71 Reader's report on Craig's *Nudism*, 10 September 1940. MS 3282 (see above, n. 48), AURR 9/1/18.

72 Craig, *Sex and Revolution* (see above, n. 3), p. 100.

73 Peter Stallybrass and Allon White, *Politics and Poetics of Transgression* (New York: Cornell UP, 1986), p. 191.

74 *Ibid.*, p. 4.

Stallybrass and White, in a series of ritualistic, seemingly paradoxical behaviours. Craig's last writings and the fate of his own book collection are illuminated by examination of this elaborate, performative vacillation.

Coda

As early as 1957, Craig had considered the donation of his own collection of censored and theoretical works to the University of London Library (now Senate House Library, University of London). However, he still feared its absolute suppression, as he confided to the American sexologist Gershon Legman: "I am thinking of leaving my library to the University of London – if they would take it and not bury it."⁷⁵ Legman recommended the library as a "rational and wideawake outfit," and so a safe home.⁷⁶ Ultimately, Craig's library, amounting to something like 3,000 volumes, was gifted to Camden Council, with the understanding that they were free to distribute them as they saw fit. As the Council committee warmly thanks Craig's widow in its minutes, it adds that "that part of the collection which, because of its rarity and subject, would have to be used in the controlled academic library situation" had been donated to Senate House Library.⁷⁷ In "rarity and subject," the committee is handing down a euphemistic judgment, and there is a suspicion that this transgressive residue was eagerly dispatched. However, despite selecting material and adding it to Senate House's collections, the Director's letter, in response to Craig's widow's hope that the books "will be of great use to those interested," bears a bold and final annotation which she would not have seen: "16th floor, locked."⁷⁸ While limited access was granted to researchers who were already aware of them, the works were banished to a high floor of the tower the library now occupies, uncatalogued, and essentially inaccessible. The collection was enclosed in a locking wire cage, as if it were a hazardous beast.

There is a painful and inescapable irony in Craig's books being effectively, if covertly, censored in the library. It is as if all of Craig's assembled arguments have been summarily silenced by a sweeping decision from a librarian. This seems all

75 Craig to Gershon Legman, 13 March 1957. London, Senate House Library, Alec Craig Archive, MS 1091: box 1/file 2.

76 Gershon Legman to Craig, 1 April 1957 (see above, n. 75).

77 London Borough of Camden Local Studies and Archive Centre, Libraries and Arts Sub-Committee Minutes, Minutes of meeting held 29 January 1974.

78 D.T. Richnell to Kathleen Craig, 12 October 1973. London, Senate House Library, University of London Archive, UoL/UL/4/18/15.

the more poignant in that Craig had stressed in his 1962 revision of his earlier work that the “learned and scholarly libraries can be trusted to transact their affairs in the highest interests of science, literature and art,” where “highest” makes clear the institutional differentiation away from the lower, problematic discourses.⁷⁹ Craig had envisaged the academic library as an environment where anxieties over repression were misplaced, and was even happy to countenance something approaching censorship, conceding that “libraries are bound to exercise caution over the issue or circulation of controversial items,” fearing “the attentions of the sexual maniac.”⁸⁰ The library becomes in such a reading a privileged location, perhaps because of its place outside of the literary marketplace with its ambivalent commercial drives. Extraordinarily, when Craig discusses leaving his collection of transgressive works to such a library, it is even safe to lapse back into vocabulary he had previously ridiculed as “hopelessly subjective,” saying that “I want to donate or bequeath my *erotic* books to some library.”⁸¹

In the decision to effectively conceal Craig’s library, the floors of Senate House Library’s tower become an inverted metaphor for society’s attitude to the potentially erotic, with the transgressive “low” banished “high.” This is a performative act of what Stallybrass and White would term “symbolic reterritorialization,” marked by the unacknowledged certainty that such an attempt is unsound.⁸² The ostentatious banishment of the Craig collection also entails careful preservation. The library is enacting an “imperative to reject and eliminate the debasing ‘low’” which simultaneously “conflicts powerfully and unpredictably with a desire for this Other.”⁸³ This recalls Craig’s own seeming vacillation before de Sade, as well as Stanley Unwin’s pursuit of, and dismissal of, profit. Society, and even reformers like Craig, demanded the reassuring presence of a symbolically locked, hidden floor holding abjected contents which would be released only in appropriate circumstances; great libraries like Senate House supplied it but also perpetuated it as reflections of the cultures they served. The word “abjected” is used advisedly, for Kristeva’s description of the power of the overwhelming yet pathologically rejected abject speaks to that carefully retained but elaborately restricted material on the sixteenth floor: “one does not know it, one does not desire it, one joys in it [*on en jouit*] . . . victims of the abject are its fascinated victims.”⁸⁴ Such collections are

79 Craig, *Banned Books* (see above, n. 2), p. 205.

80 Ibid., p. 206.

81 Craig to Gershon Legman, 16 September 1964 (see above, n. 75), emphasis added.

82 Stallybrass and White, *Politics* (see above, n. 73), p. 192.

83 Ibid., p. 4.

84 Julia Kristeva, *Powers of Horror: An Essay on Abjection*, trans. Leon S. Roudiez (New York: Columbia UP, 1982), p. 9.

created, and elaborately set aside, in a library firmly outside of the clashing commercial and intellectual imperatives which mark the literary marketplace; it is in this comparative quiet that the library can accede to pass judgment, and its pronouncement is an ostentatious indecision.

When Craig wryly remarked that “although the wisdom of trying to protect fools from books is open to dispute the necessity of protecting books from fools is not,” he was thinking of the library’s duty to preserve its stock from defacement and other purely physical attack.⁸⁵ However, it is clear that certain types of transgressive content can drive librarians, publishers and other bookmen – including Craig – to make confused and perhaps foolish judgments of categorisation from which books may need more abstract protection. Where the vision of Alec Craig is most to be praised is in his realisation of the futility of attempting to surmount such societal ambiguity and hypocrisy; in concluding his last published work, Craig could intone with striking pragmatism that “we are all tempted to be both readers of erotic books and censors of sexual literature,” throwing the confusion back on to each and every reader.⁸⁶ This is a bold and redemptive conclusion to his struggle, an acceptance that he cannot, however many times he rewrites his study, reach a logical conclusion within the terms of the debate as it has been handed to him. Surveying his subject after forty years, he bequeaths the cultural confusion of obscenity and of commercialism to a generation more attuned to the abandonment of sweeping metanarratives.

85 Craig, *Banned Books* (see above, n, 2), p. 206.

86 Ibid., p. 218.

PART 3

Libraries and Reading Spaces



Boots Book-Lovers' Library: Domesticating the Exotic and Building Provincial Literary Taste

Sally Dugan

If you visited the Brighton branch of the Boots Book-lovers' Library in 1905, you would find artfully arranged potted palms, well-stacked polished wooden shelves, 'modern' electric lights and conveniently placed tables and chairs.¹ If you went to the newly-opened Southampton branch a few years later, you would find exactly the same mixture – a books-do-furnish-the room home from home with just a touch of the modern and exotic, but nothing in it to shock and surprise.

It is a formula that was closely followed in the library's choice of books. As Jesse Boot put it in 1912: "The greatest care has been taken at the desire of our subscribers to eliminate from our catalogue and to exclude from our collection all books which are not of a healthy and wholesome nature."² Just as the library guaranteed that books which were known to have been in contact with infectious disease would be burnt immediately, so readers were reassured that the contents would not be incendiary. Suspect volumes were not stocked, or else bore a red label and were available only on request. Jesse Boot was being disingenuous when he suggested that this policy came about "at the desire" of his subscribers. He knew that an emphasis on propriety and selectivity had contributed to the business success of libraries such as Mudie's and, as a devout Methodist, it also chimed in with his own wishes.

Jesse Boot's emphasis on the influence of subscribers neatly obscures the ways in which the libraries that bore his name sought to guide taste: through architecture and interior design; catalogues and printed ephemera; training directives from the (male) chief librarians and in advice given on the shop floor. Boot was quick to realise the profits to be made from a personalised service offering safe excitement in a reading environment that reflected his customers' aspirations. Like Marie Corelli, the acknowledged Queen of the

1 This chapter follows the punctuation conventions of early publicity material for the library; the hyphen and apostrophe slipped out of use in the postwar period in the interests of simplicity.

2 Jesse Boot, 'Preface,' *A Catalogue of Modern English Literature Circulated by Boots Book-lovers' Library* (London: Boots, 1912), p.vii.

nineteenth-century circulating libraries (to whom he would not have been flattered to be compared) Jesse Boot understood how to appropriate the antique to emphasise cultural value. Where Corelli moved to Stratford to associate her name with literary genius, Boot housed his libraries in distinctive black and white mock Tudor establishments to offer a guarantee that the contents, as well as the buildings and décor, would be tasteful.

The more extravagant Boots branches prefigured “Ye Signe of Ye Daffodile,” the mock-Elizabethan bookshop in E.F. Benson’s fictional village of Riseholme in *Mapp and Lucia* (1931).³ Like the suburban villas where many of the library’s patrons lived, their design fits somewhere between the illustrator Osbert Lancaster’s “Wimbledon Transitional” and “Stockbroker Tudor.”⁴ Osbert Lancaster’s 1938 cartoon history of British architectural style bears an epigraph from Geoffrey Scott: “The art of architecture studies not structure in itself, but the effect of structure on the human spirit.” In other words, architecture has personality – and it impresses that personality on the people who use it. So “Wimbledon Transitional,” for instance, Osbert Lancaster describes as having “an air of self-conscious cosiness.”⁵ Boots libraries, both inside and out, had a similar air of refuge from the modern world, offering an escape into the past.

With a million subscribers and a wish list of volumes that ran to 1.25 million by World War Two, the purchasing power of Boots Book-lovers’ Libraries should not be underestimated. Their role in purveying middlebrow fiction and dreams to middle-class housewives such as Laura Jesson, the heroine of David Lean’s film *Brief Encounter* (1945), is well known. However, what is less well documented is the tension in the early days between promoters of “quality” and popular literature, and the prejudice against female romance. This chapter looks at the material influence of two librarians who were both hostile to popular fiction: Dr Ernest A. Baker, Director of the School of Librarianship at the University of London, and the American, George Iles. It examines the cataloguing practices and directives of successive Chief Librarians and highlights the gendered mismatch between “official” male directives about literature and the books the predominantly female readers took home.

In her study of contemporary reading patterns, *Fiction and the Reading Public* (1932), Queenie Leavis categorised Boots Book-lovers’ readers as predominantly lower middle class.⁶ Over seventy years later, Leavis’s comments

3 E.F. Benson, *Mapp and Lucia* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1931), p. 5.

4 Osbert Lancaster, *Pillar to Post: The Pocket Lamp of Architecture* (London: John Murray, 1938), pp. 60–3.

5 Ibid., p. 60.

6 Q.D. Leavis, *Fiction and the Reading Public* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1936), p. 14.

about class and library membership are still incorporated uncritically in accounts of early twentieth-century print culture.⁷ However, class distinctions are not overly helpful in distinguishing between the various circulating libraries. Whether Boots readers were lower or upper middle class is less relevant than that they were overwhelmingly provincial as opposed to metropolitan readers. This is borne out in the library's small town architecture, its values and in its organisation. It may have taken some cultural direction from London, but Boots Book-lovers' moral values lay in Nottingham – specifically, from the 1930s onwards, in Beeston, the suburb where assistant librarians went for team-building activities.

Building a Tradition

The Boots flagship store in Nottingham's High Street, designed by the architect A.N. Bromley (1903), had been all high Edwardian grandeur (Figure 9.1).



New Premises now being built (September, 1903) at Pelham Street and High Street, Nottingham, for occupation by Boots Cash Chemists (Eastern) Ltd.

FIGURE 9.1 *High Edwardian grandeur at the Boots Pelham Street Store, Nottingham*
 PAPERS OF STANLEY CHAPMAN, NOTTINGHAM UNIVERSITY MSS REF
 PSC4/35/4. BOOTS REF. CAIS 8561. BY PERMISSION OF BOOTS ARCHIVE

7 See for example Chris Baldick, *The Oxford English Literary History, Vol. 10, 1910–1940: The Modern Movement* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2004), p. 22.

A relatively simple mock-Tudor style was used for small suburban branches, such as at Beeston (1908) (Figure 9.2). However, in ancient boroughs there were new shops with half-timbered facades that verged on Jacobethan pastiche, to use the term coined by John Betjeman in *Ghastly Good Taste* (1933). A particularly extravagant example – now a branch of W.H. Smith – can still be seen in the cathedral town of Bury St Edmunds in Suffolk (Figure 9.3).⁸ This white



FIGURE 9.2 *Mock Tudor at the Boots Beeston Store*

BOOTS REF. CAIS 1119. BY PERMISSION OF BOOTS ARCHIVE

⁸ English Heritage, 'The National Heritage List for England,' list entry number 1076955 [accessed 11 October 2012], <http://list.english-heritage.org.uk/resultsingle.aspx?uid=1076955>.



FIGURE 9.3 *Boots shop under construction at 15 Cornhill, Bury St Edmunds (c. 1910)*
 SPANTON JARMAN IMAGE K505/2026. BY PERMISSION OF THE BURY ST
 EDMUNDS PAST AND PRESENT SOCIETY

stucco and timber building is described by the architectural historian Nikolaus Pevsner as “a riotous and glorious Victorian fantasy, utterly unconcerned with the spirit of Bury.”⁹ The second part of this judgement may seem harsh – not

9 Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: Suffolk* (London: Penguin, 1961), p. 134. “Victorian” here applies to the flamboyant style rather than the historical period, since the building comes from the Edwardian rather than the Victorian era.

least because the statues that adorned the shop front were chosen for their connection with the town – but it does indicate a perception that location was less important than what we would now call corporate image.¹⁰

Built in 1910, to a design by Boots architect Michael Vyne Treleaven, the Bury branch of Boots had “Venetian” oriel windows and a series of life-size statues and panels, with inscriptions explaining who they were.¹¹ Prominent among these was King Canute, the eleventh-century Danish and English king who founded the abbey at Bury. Labelled “King Canute rebuking his flatterers,” the panel is inspired by the apocryphal story that Canute placed his throne at the edge of the sea to show that he got his feet wet like everyone else when the tide came in. This is taken as an example of strong-minded individualism coupled with a reminder that kings and the people they rule share a common humanity. Together with the building it adorned, it represented a nostalgic construction of Englishness.¹²

This idiosyncratic use of the national heritage emphasises the canny way in which, to coin Eric Hobsbawm’s phrase, Jesse Boot “invented tradition.”¹³ As Boots Cash Chemist, he had dispensed value-for-money drugs to ordinary people. With the business’s rapid expansion during the Edwardian era, he set out to create an indispensable national institution. This was an age of developing Establishment expertise at drawing on the past to boost prestige.¹⁴ The reign of King Edward VII saw the revival of the full-dress State Opening of Parliament. His coronation in 1902 had added trappings of medieval chivalry, and his death in 1910 brought another innovation: the lying-in-state ritual.¹⁵

10 For another, if less extravagant, example of a Treleaven-designed black and white Boots branch with statues chosen to reflect the history of the town, see numbers 37 and 38, High Street, Winchester (1905). Michael Bullen, John Crook, Rodney Hubbuck and Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: Hampshire. Winchester and the North* (New Haven: Yale UP, 2012), p. 671.

11 For images and details, see ‘Recording Archive for Public Sculpture in Norfolk and Suffolk’ [accessed 11 October 2012], <http://www.racns.co.uk/sculptures.asp?action=getsurvey&id=681>.

12 Jesse Boot’s success in creating an equation between Boots libraries and Englishness is illustrated in John Betjeman, ‘In Westminster Abbey’ (1940), lines 19–20. John Betjeman, *Collected Poems*, 3rd ed. (London: John Murray, 1970), pp. 91–2.

13 See Eric Hobsbawm, ‘The Invention of Tradition,’ in Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1983), pp. 1–14.

14 See David Cannadine, ‘The Context, Performance and Meaning of Ritual: The British Monarchy and the “Invention of Tradition,” c. 1820–1977,’ in Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1983), pp. 101–64.

15 John Edward Courtenay Bodley, Appendix 11: ‘The Coronation Ceremony,’ in *The Coronation of Edward the Seventh: A Chapter of European and Imperial History* (London: Methuen, 1903).



FIGURE 9.4 *Country house style with stained glass at the Kingston-on-Thames Boots Book-lovers' Library*

BOOTS REF. CAIS 0327. BY PERMISSION OF BOOTS ARCHIVE

So it is perhaps not surprising that a new Boots branch designed at the height of his sovereignty should give prominence to the monarchy.

The Kingston-on-Thames Boots, built in 1909, demonstrates how the house style could be modified to tap into national and civic pride (Figure 9.4).¹⁶ Half-timbered, with a red tiled roof, the building had both a statue and a stained glass window featuring King Edward the Elder (conveniently crowned at Kingston exactly a thousand years before the coronation of King Edward VII).¹⁷ A centrally-placed carving of Queen Elizabeth I combined with the Tudor architecture to invoke the golden age of Gloriana. But it is on the upstairs library floor – an integral part of the design from the outset – that Boots is

16 The building, designed by the Boots architect Michael Vyne Treleaven, is at 15 & 16, Market Place, Kingston-on-Thames. 'The National Heritage List for England,' list entry number 1184764 [accessed 3 October 2012], <http://list.english-heritage.org.uk/resultsingle.aspx?uid=1184764>.

17 'One of the sights of Kingston,' reprinted from the *Surrey Comet*, in 'To introduce Boots Book-lovers Library,' pamphlet in University of Oxford, Bodleian Library, John Johnson Collection. Shelfmark Libraries 2 (5).

accorded the same status as municipal free libraries. Here, leaded lights displayed the arms of the town's seven-times "medical mayor" – the family doctor cum antiquarian, Dr W.E. St. Lawrence Finny, J.P. – as well as those of the borough, of the High Steward of Kingston, and the Chairman of Surrey County Council.¹⁸ Dr Finny, who also designed stained glass for Kingston Town Hall, "suggested and arranged" the statues and heraldry for Boots.¹⁹ This collaboration gave a private enterprise the same prestige as a public one.

It is, however, the aspect of exclusivity that is emphasised in the eight-page prospectus, "To introduce Boots Book-lovers' Library," that was issued to potential subscribers.²⁰ Bound in thick black card and printed on high quality cream paper, the prospectus uses the formulas of polite society to "introduce" the library to patrons. It is effectively an advertising leaflet – probably based on a standard company template – masquerading as a visiting card. The prospectus that survives in the John Johnson Collection at the Bodleian Library, Oxford, has a pink flyer – headlined "Special Concession to residents of Kingston and District" – stapled next to the "Terms of Membership" and offering a trial three months subscription. The slogan in capitals, "ONCE A SUBSCRIBER – ALWAYS A SUBSCRIBER," sidesteps the notion that this was a paid service by suggesting the idea of joining a privileged circle of friends.

The keynote is struck on the first page:

This is to introduce to your notice – Boots Book-lovers Library. The need for Circulating Libraries has long since ceased to be a matter of debate. Once a luxury, they have come to be regarded as a necessity by all persons of education and refinement. The enterprise of BOOTS CASH CHEMISTS in founding the Book-lovers' Library as an adjunct to their famous business has brought all the advantages of the old circulating library, together with others, within reach of families of the most modest means.

The capitalisation of the Boots name linked with the tactful reference to "modest means" trades on the company's existing reputation for affordability. At the same time, the reference to "persons of education and refinement" aims to persuade aspirational customers that this new service is indispensable. W.G. Taylor, President of the Publishers' Association and Managing Director of

18 See [Michael d'Souza] 'History of Canbury Medical Centre' [accessed 16 October 2012], <http://dspace.dial.pipex.com/town/terrace/lq46/HISTORY%20OF%20CMC/HISTORYOF%20CANBURYMEDICALCENTRE.htm>.

19 'One of the sights of Kingston' (see above, n. 17).

20 'To introduce Boots Book-lovers Library' (see above, n. 17).

Joseph M. Dent and Sons, wrote in his contribution to *The Book World* (1935) of the “fatal attraction” of books as “loss-leaders”:

Apparently under the impression that books lend their trades a touch of distinction, drapers, multiple stores, and newspapers are eager to sell them at cut-prices – or even to give them away – if by doing so they can increase the sale of more profitable goods.²¹

Jesse Boot would not have known the American term “loss leader” – invoked rather self-consciously in inverted commas by Taylor – and Boot was primarily lending books, not selling them. However, he undoubtedly used his libraries as a way of attracting “quality” customers into his stores.

The interior in the first floor library at Kingston-on-Thames was typical in creating the ambience of an exclusive country house. Its tiny windowpanes with light-excluding armorial shields may not have been too practical for readers suffering from presbyopia. However, the well-stocked shelves, polished occasional tables and arts-and-crafts style chairs suggested quality, taste and tradition. They were the interior design equivalent of Oxford University Press's World's Classics and Joseph Dent's Everyman's Library, both – like many Book-lovers' library branches – founded in the first decade of the twentieth century. When Arnold Bennett was compiling his instructions for how to collect a library of “good” English literature, publishers' series that had been marketed as part of a “library” in this way featured prominently.²² There was an assumption that less confident readers wanted someone who, like Dent's Everyman, would be at their side, instructing and guiding taste. Printed inside each Everyman title after the first two in the library (founded in 1906) was this motto from the medieval miracle play: “Everyman I will go with thee and be thy guide, in thy most need to go by thy side.”²³ The Boots Book-lovers' Libraries provided that guidance through its printed catalogues and the personalised advice offered by librarians in an atmosphere designed to be both welcoming and reassuring.

One book that is carefully preserved in the Boots Company Archive at Beeston gives a small insight into Jesse Boot's own tastes. This is a green and gilt leather-bound copy of Longfellow's Poetical Works, bearing a handwritten

21 W.G. Taylor, ‘Publishing,’ in John Hampden, ed., *The Book World* (London: Nelson, 1935), pp. 49–88 (p. 79).

22 Arnold Bennett, *Literary Taste: How to form it* (London: New Age Press, 1909), pp. 113–27.

23 Random House, ‘Everyman's Library: About Everyman's’ [accessed 3 October 2012], <http://www.randomhouse.com/knopf/classics/about.html>.

inscription in black ink: "Presented to Miss E.E. England by J. Boot with his best wishes, January 1880."²⁴ Miss England was an assistant in the second Nottingham Boots shop. The presentation of this book occurred before the libraries were established, but it shows that an appreciation of the material book was part of company culture from the early days. The marking of all library books with the distinctive green Book-lovers' shield, and the re-binding or sale of worn out copies, was to couple an idea of the gentleman's library with a shrewd awareness of brand reliability.

The library, which was the idea of Jesse Boot's wife, Florence, started in a small way using revolving bookstands with second-hand copies. By the end of 1903, just under half of Boots branches (141 out of 289) had libraries.²⁵ The open shelves were unusual, bearing in mind that a majority of British public libraries at this time still offered a reading by numbers system. In free municipal libraries readers made their choice from a printed catalogue, and, if they were lucky, their chosen number showed blue on the patented Cotgreave Indicator (or its equivalent) meaning the book was available to be borrowed. Red meant that it was out. The indicator was named after its inventor, Alfred Cotgreave, an indefatigable indexer who was not an advocate of public access.²⁶ He compiled catalogues and organised several public libraries, including those at Wednesbury, Richmond, Wandsworth, and the Guille-Allès Library, Guernsey. As Thomas Kelly has calculated, a Cotgreave Indicator for 35,000 books would run for 40 feet at a height of about five feet.²⁷ These indicators would be a physically dominant presence, rather like railway departure boards, and wholly inimical to the country house library ideal.

So Boots libraries were in the vanguard of the open access movement.²⁸ As the writer Cecil Roberts put it: "You could see and pick your own books; the idea made an appeal to that strong individualism in our national character.

24 [Longfellow's *Poetical Works*]. Nottingham, Boots Archive, Box 1883.

25 Stanley Chapman, *Jesse Boot of Boots the Chemists: A Study in Business History* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1974), p. 88.

26 See [Alfred Cotgreave], 'The truth about giving readers free access to the books in a public lending library, by one who has tried the system in two large libraries' (London: [n.p.], 1895).

27 Thomas Kelly, *A History of Public Libraries in Great Britain, 1845-1975*, 2nd ed. (London: The Library Association, 1977), p. 213.

28 It is interesting to note the link between the open access revolution in public libraries and a "relaxed suburban style" as epitomised in the branch library designed by the Liverpool City Surveyor Thomas Shelmerdine at Sefton Park (1911). See Alistair Black, Simon Pepper, Kaye Bagshaw, *Books, Buildings and Social Engineering: Early Public Libraries in Britain from Past to Present* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2009), p. 146.

The borrower was a private borrower, he was a customer of Boots.”²⁹ Leaving aside the immediate context (this was a piece of public relations for the Boots Golden Jubilee), in addition to the generalisations about national character and the generic use of the masculine pronoun for a predominantly female customer base, this quotation needs unpicking. Cecil Roberts was a Nottingham boy made good, having started his journalistic career making tea at the *Nottingham Post*. He also wrote homely narratives for Hodder & Stoughton, personifying provincial wholesomeness. At the same time, his words neatly encapsulate the clever way in which Boots Book-lovers' flattered its subscribers. On the one hand, they were welcomed as if into someone's private library; on the other, they were part of a nationally successful business enterprise.

This is symbolised by the ivory tag that was carefully fastened to each borrowed book. Ivory is a kind of protein-based plastic also used in making fountain pens; as the name suggests, it looks like the much more valuable material ivory. The tag acted as membership token, bookmark, advertisement and sign of quality. This emphasis on quality and exclusivity links the library to that great Victorian institution, Mudie's Select Circulating Library, whose influence can be seen in a flyer from around 1906 advertising ex-library books for sale (Figure 9.5).³⁰ Here we have a Victorian figure looking very much like George Cruikshank's illustration of Mr Brownlow from Charles Dickens's *Oliver Twist*, browsing through a book trough of what are apparently classics – but which we know were just as likely to be popular fiction.

“Wishy-Washy Fiction” and Brand Reliability

It is no coincidence that Boots' first chief librarian – the wonderfully-named Mercer Stretch – came from Mudie's. Stretch was the first of a series of Chief Librarians who stamped their personalities on the library and on the wider world of publishing in the first part of the twentieth century. This reached its acme under the best-known Chief Librarian, Freddie Richardson, whose buying orders were said to be able to make or mar a book.³¹ Clearly at this distance, it is hard to recapture the influence of Mercer Stretch the man. However, we know that he was with Boots Book-lovers' until 1905, when he left to take charge

29 Cecil Roberts, *Achievement – A Record of 50 Years Progress of Boots Pure Drug Company Ltd* (London: The Company, 1938), pp. 28–9.

30 'Book Bargains Offered by Boots Book-lovers Library,' c. 1906. Nottingham, Boots Archive, CAIS 7474.

31 James Milne, 'A Library of Today,' *Cornhill Magazine* 150 (1934), 441–9, there 445.

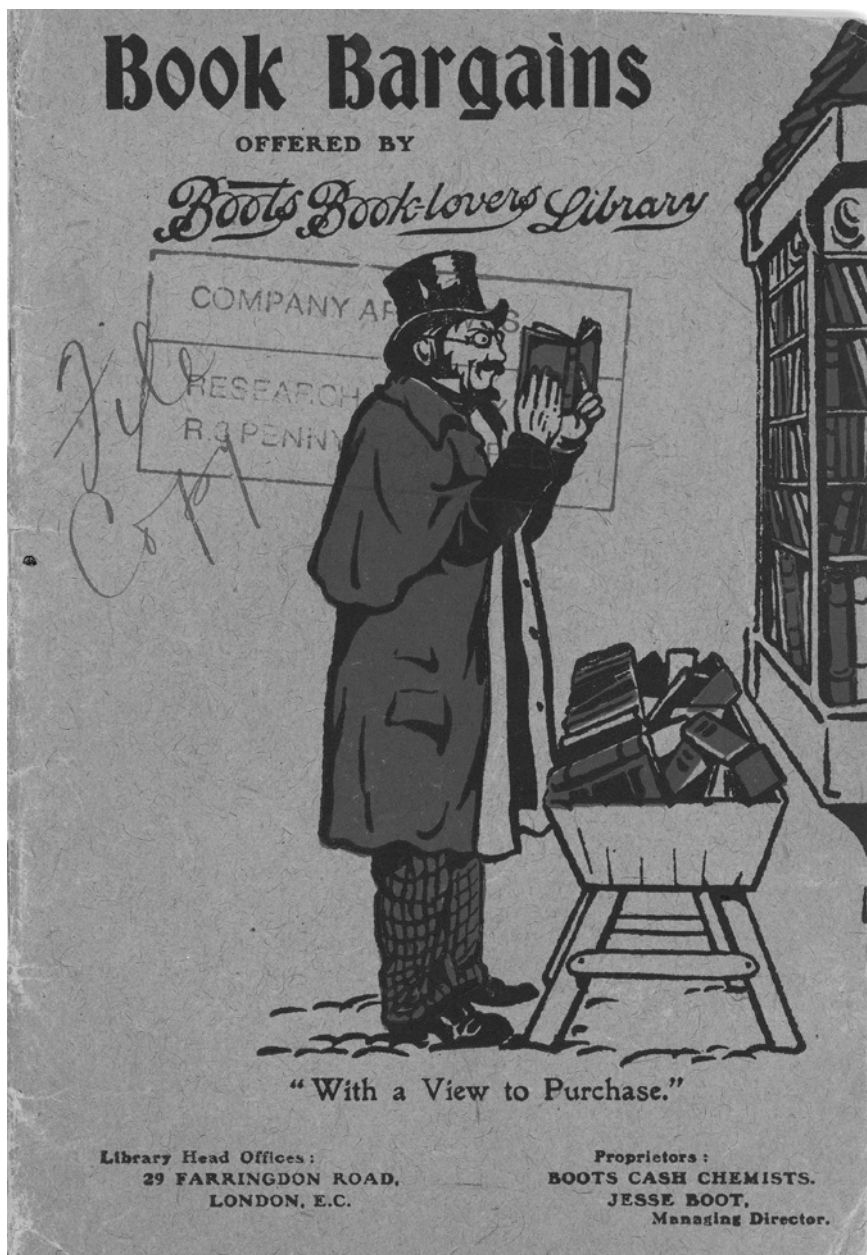


FIGURE 9.5 “Book Bargains” flyer (c. 1906) with Mr Brownlow figure
BOOTS REF. CAIS 7474. BY PERMISSION OF BOOTS ARCHIVE

of the new *Times* circulating library, and eventually ended up (in 1914) at the library of the department store Harrods. This suggests that he was interested in the top end of the market – an idea underlined by the pleasure with which the 1905 catalogue announced that it had “the honour and distinction of Royal patronage.”³² Whether this means that members of the Royal Family actually borrowed their books from Boots, or whether a Royal had simply visited on one occasion, is not recorded. The company was not entitled at this time to claim a Royal Warrant, but this suitably vague expression added kudos.

We also have the evidence of the 1904 and 1905 Boots printed catalogues. These provide an annotated list of works that enshrine intellectual snobbery, a reverence for male writers and a prejudice against the female romance. This can be traced directly to Dr Ernest A. Baker – whose work was credited and quoted wholesale in both catalogues – and the American George Iles. Iles campaigned against what he called “wishy-washy fiction” in favour of the classics, and felt strongly that libraries should not stock “novels of the Satanic school, deliberately produced to contaminate.”³³ Dr Baker would most likely have heard Iles's comments, which were delivered at an International Library Conference in London in July, 1897. In the preface to his own *Guide to the Best Fiction in English* (1903) he acknowledges the influence of Iles.³⁴ However, he credits Iles as sole editor of *The List of Books for Girls and Women and their Clubs* (1895), where in fact the book was a joint production with Augusta H. Leyboldt of the New York-based *Literary News*.³⁵ This male bias can also be seen in the motto printed on the inside front page of the 1905 Boots catalogue: “In the best books, great **men** talk to us” (Channing).

Dr Baker was a name in the library world, rising from librarian of the Midland Railway Institute at Derby via Woolwich Public Library to become director of the School of Librarianship at University College, London, where he stayed until 1934. He felt strongly that a distinction should be drawn between worthwhile and ephemeral fiction, and drew up a list of writers he considered

32 Jesse Boot, ‘Preface,’ *A Catalogue of Modern English Literature: Being a Selection of the Best Known Works Circulated by Boots Book-lovers Library* (London: Boots, 1905), pp. vii–ix (p. ix).

33 George Iles, *The Appraisal of Literature* (New York: [n.p.], 1897), p. 10.

34 Ernest A. Baker, ‘Preface,’ *A Descriptive Guide to the Best Fiction British and American* (London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1903), pp. v–vii (p. vii). It is this work which is credited in Jesse Boot, ‘Preface,’ *A Catalogue of Modern English Literature: A Selection of the Best Known Works Circulated by Boots Book-lovers Library* (London: Boots, [1904]), pp. vii–viii (p. viii), and preface to *Catalogue* (1905) (see above, n. 32), p. ix.

35 Augusta H. Leyboldt and George Iles, eds., *List of Books for Girls and Women and their Clubs: With descriptive and critical notes and a list of periodicals and hints for Girls and Women's Clubs* (Boston: American Library Association, 1895).

first, second and third class. Class 1 included Balzac, Conrad, Meredith and, rather randomly, Kate Douglas Wiggin, the author of *Rebecca of Sunnybrook Farm* (1903). She is the only female writer cited, perhaps as a token American who had redeemed herself by writing well-received books about her English travels.³⁶

Baker's emphasis on the British male literary establishment can be illustrated by looking at his attitude towards a group of now largely forgotten best-selling writers who made their fortunes by selling what Colin Wilson has called "The Great Riviera Fantasy" to readers who may never even have crossed the Channel.³⁷ C.N. and A.M. Williamson lived in Roquebrune, just up the coast from Monte Carlo, and had developed a lucrative line in motoring stories. Together, they travelled the continent in a succession of motorcars and turned their adventures into fiction. The most successful of these was *The Lightning Conductor* (1902), a fictionalised version of their honeymoon.

However, A.M. Williamson also wrote under her own name as a romance writer. Baker's unenthusiastic summaries of two of her romances are quoted verbatim in both the 1904 and 1905 Boots Book-lovers' Catalogues. *The Adventures of Princess Sylvia* (Methuen, 1901), is described as: "A very good example of this author's romantic novels, a sentimental comedy resembling *The Prisoner of Zenda* and its class in mechanism, wherein a great lady and an emperor of 'Rhaetia' masquerade and make love in a highly improbable manner." *The Newspaper Girl* (Pearson, 1899), is dismissed as: "A melodramatic novel, with delineations of the methods and manners of journalistic life." The derogatory "melodramatic" is unfavourably coupled with a sly comment on the volume of her output in the last sentence of the entry, which notes: "This mixture of realism and sensation characterises her numerous novels."³⁸ Baker simply could not resist emphasising the formulaic nature of the genre.³⁹

By contrast to this patronising assessment, when we come to the work of male middlebrow writers with Riviera connections – for example, E. Phillips Oppenheim, who wrote thriller romances from his house by a golf course near

36 Ernest A. Baker, 'The Standard of Fiction in Public Libraries,' *Library Association Record* ix (1907), 70–80, there 73.

37 Colin Watson, *Snobbery with Violence: Crime Stories and Their Audience* (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1971), p. 56.

38 *Catalogue* (1904) (see above, n. 34), p. 472. Both of these are direct quotations from Ernest A. Baker, *A Descriptive Guide to the Best Fiction British and American* (London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1903), p. 189. They continued to be included unchanged in successive, revised editions of Baker's book up until 1932.

39 Baker's comments on the work of Marie Corelli and Ouida include similar generalisations, but these are edited out for the Boots catalogue entries.

Cannes – we find straightforward plot summaries. Although Baker paid little attention to Oppenheim, whom he labelled a “doubtful mediocrity” of Class II, his influence can still be seen in Boots catalogue entries that stress the moral and educational value of his novels.⁴⁰ For example, on Oppenheim's *A Prince of Sinners* (1903) we have the following observation:

A novel dealing with political and social subjects, chiefly protection versus free trade. The “prince of sinners” is a nobleman who for years drained the dregs of evil, and who showed its effects in a selfishness and cynicism which ultimately yielded to the influence of his son, [whose career as a visiting young solicitor forms the main interest of the story].⁴¹

The search for “serious” themes in fiction was the hallmark of both Baker and Iles's work.

It was George Iles who pioneered the idea of annotations to guide readers.⁴² In fact, he could be described as the Casaubon of librarians, with his plan for cards written by experts on 10,000 “books of importance.”⁴³ An important element of Iles's proposed cards was a note indicating “for what classes of readers a book is best suited.”⁴⁴ This idea of so-called experts advising different “classes” of readers adds an extra dimension to British publications such as the Library Association's *Class List of Best Books*, a series of shilling pamphlets first issued in 1905.⁴⁵ This, like the early Boots Catalogues, quotes directly from Baker's *Best Fiction*, and it is worth pausing to note the Library Association logo that adorns the front. Here we see an elegant lady taking books from a tottering pile and feeding them from on high to the hungry crowd. With her strappy sandals and flowing robes, she looks like a classical culture goddess – a role that, as we will see, is enshrined in the Boots librarian training.

Under Mercer Stretch, Boots Book-lovers' followed the public library approach where the primary concern was education and value for money.⁴⁶ This is reflected in the order of contents for the 1905 catalogue:

40 Baker, ‘Standard of Fiction’ (see above, n. 36), 72.

41 *Catalogue* (1904) (see above, n. 34), p. 354.

42 Iles, *Appraisal of Literature* (see above, n. 33).

43 George Iles, *New Aids for Readers: Books Weighed and Compared by Experts* (Chicago: [n.p.], 1893), p. 7.

44 *Ibid.*, p. 4.

45 *Class List of Best Books, 1905–6* (London: Library Association, 1906).

46 Baker, ‘Standard of Fiction,’ (see above, n. 36).

Division I. Works of History, Biography, *Belles-Lettres*, &c. arranged under author's names and under subjects of general interest. Division II. Works of Fiction, collected under authors' names and arranged alphabetically under titles, many of the best known novels being briefly described. Division III. Juvenile Books under titles. For these books arranged under their authors, please refer to Division II.⁴⁷

The hierarchy is clear: fact is first class; fiction only slightly better than children's books.

Within the category of fiction, a subdivision along Baker and Iles's lines between "high" and "low" culture is made clear in the value-laden summaries. It is also emphasised in an advertisement for a Baker-edited Routledge series, "Half-forgotten Books," which is carried in the appendix. However, it is worth noting that the 1905 catalogue lists 35 titles by William Le Queux, a popular thriller writer conspicuous by his absence in Baker's *Best Fiction*. For the first time, too, fiction is listed with the newest titles first: an innovation that hints at the way readers actually *used* these carefully prepared catalogues.

My analysis so far may imply a linear reading of the Boots catalogue, but it is equally likely that subscribers simply looked up the index, arranged in alphabetical order by title and also by author. So if, for example, you liked romance, you could turn to pages 681 and 682 of the 1905 catalogue and you would find 37 titles, from *Romance* (1903), by Joseph Conrad and Ford Madox Hueffer, through *Romance of a Lawn Tennis Tournament* (1890) by Lady Dunboyne, *Romance of a Midshipman* (1898) by W. Clark Russell to *Romantic Tales of the Panjab* (1903) by Rev. Charles Swynnerton. Such categorisation must surely have influenced publishers to put "Romance" as the first line of their books title. There is more to be written about publishers and circulating library indexing practices. The W.H. Smith library catalogue, for example, used an apparently random subject index that notably catered for regional sensibilities. In 1916 it lists D.H. Lawrence, *Sons and Lovers* (1913) under Nottinghamshire (Mining Life), while under Oxford is found B.B. Batty, *Mrs Fauntleroy's Nephew: an episode of Oxford history in the Eights Week* (1912).⁴⁸ In the long term, of course, it is the work of D.H. Lawrence rather than B. B Batty that has survived; in the short term the use of the key word "Fauntleroy" coupled with "Oxford" suggests a publishers' marketing strategy aimed at catalogue indexers.

47 *Catalogue* (1905) (see above, n. 32), p. v.

48 *Catalogue of English Books in W.H. Smith & Son's Circulating Library* (London: W.H. Smith & Son, 1916). Reading, University of Reading Special Collections, W.H. Smith collection-054.

Guiding Taste – or Giving Subscribers What They Want?

A shift away from the paternalistic tone of the early Boots catalogues came when W.J. Roberts (originally Mercer Stretch's assistant) took over in 1905. Roberts had come from Iredales in Torquay and published a book on the literary associations of that town.⁴⁹ Perhaps he had more confidence in his own judgement, and was less intimidated by the metropolitan literary establishment; perhaps he realised annotated lists were redundant when readers could browse through books on the open shelves – or maybe there was simply not space in the library's growing catalogue for anything other than a simple list. In any event, by 1912 (which is the next catalogue I've been able to consult) many of the value judgements have been dropped even though Ernest Baker's guide continued to be published in new and enlarged editions. Where public libraries had to account to ratepayers, the main priority at Boots had to be that of giving the subscribers what they wanted.

Catalogues, of course, only tell us the official story. As Queenie Leavis recognised, even if she couched that recognition in derogatory terms, library assistants played a vital role in book choice. The women who worked under Freddie Richardson, Boots chief librarian from 1911 to 1941, were highly trained. They had to pass exams on library systems and on literature, and as Nickianne Moody has shown, their position brought social kudos.⁵⁰ Ernest Baker's diktats about literature no longer found a place in the Boots catalogue, but "high" culture still dominated perceptions of value. In August 1927, librarians were offered the chance to compete to win a twelve-volume cloth-bound set, *Masterpieces of Literature*, with selections from Scott, Dickens, Thackeray, Kingsley and the possibly rogue figure of Alexandre Dumas. All they had to do was secure the most subscription renewals in the post-summer holiday period.⁵¹

Training literature for Boots librarians made a clear distinction between librarians and readers, implying that librarians tended to have more sophisticated tastes. So, for example, in a post World War Two pamphlet on "Light Romance and Family Stories" we find: "We often hear [readers] say that they like a 'pretty book.' I am sure that your own taste in reading has developed far above this level, but to a librarian books are but tools and it is our duty to

49 William James Roberts, *Literary Landmarks of Torquay* (London: Werner Laurie, 1905).

50 Nickianne Moody, 'Fashionable Design and Good Service: The Spinster Librarians at Boots Booklovers Library,' in Evelyn Kerslake and Nickianne Moody, eds., *Gendering Library History* (Liverpool: John Moores University and the Association for Research in Popular Fiction), pp. 131–44 (p. 132).

51 F.R. Richardson, 'Library Notes,' *The Bee*, August 1927, 390.

supply them to our subscribers without questioning their taste.”⁵² Here we can still hear the male authoritative voice of the annotated catalogues, but it is a voice that yields to the customer.

This tension is wonderfully dramatised in Elizabeth Bowen’s *Death of the Heart* (1938), where the fictional Miss Scott of “Smoots” library bullies one customer into taking a volume of essays from the *belles lettres* section while her friend leaves with a new novel and a happy face.⁵³ In the opening scene of Noel Coward’s *Still Life* (1935) – the pre-text for David Lean’s *Brief Encounter* (1945) – Laura Jesson is seen lost in the world of her newly acquired Boots library book.⁵⁴ Here the unspecified title is little more than a stage prop, constituting shorthand for a rich imaginative life. However, in the film, we see Laura changing her library books and buying two toothbrushes for her children on the way out. Laura’s relationship with “her” librarian is so close that she keeps the latest Kate O’Brien under the counter for her to read.⁵⁵ It is a racy choice that prefigures her dalliance with infidelity. There is even a hint, when Laura uses her librarian as an alibi, that she helps to lead her astray.⁵⁶ This is a far cry from the image of the librarian as cultural goddess.

If an ambivalent attitude to subscribers’ demands had been evident in the library’s early days, an optimistic faith in progress was a continuous theme. As Freddie Richardson wrote in *The Book World* (1935): “In the long run anything which makes more people read more books is for the good of the readers themselves and of the book trade as a whole, and it is just this service which the circulating libraries perform: they extend the reading public.”⁵⁷ His belief was that, guided by librarians, readers would “gradually seek better fare.”⁵⁸ However, ultimately, the library only provided the backdrop. The growing volume of popular fiction in the Boots catalogues suggests that the “resisting reader” had the last word.

52 ‘Fourth Paper: Light Romance and Family Stories and Westerns.’ Boots Booklovers Library Literary Course. Unpublished pamphlet c. 1948. Nottingham, Boots Archive, 460/28.

53 Elizabeth Bowen, *The Death of the Heart* (London: Vintage, 1998), p. 184.

54 Noel Coward, *Still Life: A Play in Five Scenes* (London: Samuel French, 1935), p. 8.

55 Noel Coward, *Brief Encounter*, in Roger Manvell, ed., *Three British Screen Plays* (London: Methuen, 1950), pp. 1–82 (p. 25).

56 *Ibid.*, p. 70.

57 F.R. Richardson, ‘The Circulating Library,’ in John Hampden, ed., *The Book World* (London: Nelson, 1935), pp. 195–202 (p. 196–7).

58 *Ibid.*, p. 198.

Readers and Reading Patterns: Oral History and the Archive

Nickianne Moody

Libraries and reading are a part of everyday lived culture. Their ordinary nature means that the researcher is often trying to recover or explore events and interactions which participants remember as being unremarkable. It is however, extraordinary that a major contribution to the distribution of popular fiction during the first half of the twentieth century took place through a chain of chemist shops. Boots the Chemist operated an extensive, national circulating library, one that was renowned for service and the attractiveness of the environment it created. Researching the reasons for the existence of the Boots Book-lovers' Library (1899–1966) casts light on values attributed to reading, attitudes towards popular fiction, the representation of the ordinary reader, and how books were accessed during the interwar period by a heterogeneous reading public. This chapter explores how oral history research can contribute to our understanding of this process.

Oral History and Book History

Research into publishing and bookselling often seems to be focused on locating – or being in a position to estimate – figures related to print runs, sales, circulation and readership, all of which seem to clarify the significance of a text or enterprise, but which commercial concerns do not want to be made public. Quantitative information about publishing and the scale of readership can seem hard won, but understanding reading patterns and cultures needs qualitative data which is just as difficult to ascertain. Oral history sources can be used to provide evidence about past practice which cannot be uncovered from conventional historical documents, but it has more to offer in confirming or elucidating how procedures, policies, and day-to-day reading were experienced in practice.

Reflecting a wider shift in the use and embeddedness of oral history in historical research, oral history has become an increasingly important part of book history and its research methodologies in recent years. The British Library's sound recordings of "Book Trade Lives" (which covers the period from

the 1920s to 2006) sought to capture the history of the book trade in the twentieth century through recording the voices of those who worked in publishing and bookselling.¹ Other projects have focussed on the attempt to record reading experiences, notably *Australian Readers Remember: An Oral History of Reading, 1890–1930* (1992); “Scottish Readers Remember” (2006–9); and the current “Memories of Fiction: An Oral History” (2014–).²

Data from oral history recordings and transcripts can offer description and factual information that illuminates printed records and other archival sources. In the case of the Boots Book-lovers’ Library, it also provides rich data on the ways in which librarians and readers articulate subjective experiences and provide accounts of a cultural environment in which the exchange of knowledge, social attitudes and cultural values took place. Oral history research can be a means of looking at the relationships between employees and management, readers and distributing agents, and about reading cultures, with an interview about the everyday environment of the library providing insights into how manuals, terms of business and training were put into practice. It also allows the researcher to listen to, rather than imagine the reader, and to understand how reading was negotiated as a cultural activity in different social contexts. Oral history has been dismissed as an evidential tool or as a form of biography, but to become an historical account it needs to move beyond the individual experience that is its premise and provide insight into social experience.³ It is not the accumulation of individual stories – however fascinating as personal and local testimony – that counts, but the ability that large scale research projects then have to provide an overview of interpretative statements about experience.⁴

The work of Italian historian Alessandro Portelli has clearly set out the complex nature of the data that researchers create and work with: “oral sources tell us not just what people did, but what they wanted to do, what they believed

1 ‘National Life Stories: Book Trade Lives,’ British Library [accessed June 2014], <http://www.bl.uk/reshelp/findhelprestype/sound/ohist/ohnls/nlsbook/book.html>. See also Sue Bradley, ed., *The British Book Trade: An Oral History* (London: British Library, 2008).

2 Martin Lyons and Lucy Taska, *Australian Readers Remember: An Oral History of Reading, 1890–1930* (Melbourne: OUP, 1992); David Finkelstein, ‘SAPPHIRE: Scottish Readers Remember’ [accessed June 2014], [http://sapphire.ac.uk/scottish-readers-remember-\(ahrc-funded\)/](http://sapphire.ac.uk/scottish-readers-remember-(ahrc-funded)/); Shelley Trower, Graham Smith, and Amy Murphy, ‘Memories of Fiction: An Oral History’ [accessed September 2014], <http://memoriesoffiction.org/>.

3 Trevor Lummis, ‘Structure and Validity in Oral Evidence,’ in Robert Perks and Alistair Thomson, eds., *The Oral History Reader* (London: Routledge, 1998), pp. 273–83 (p. 277).

4 Lynn Abrams, *Oral History Theory* (London: Routledge, 2010), p. 6.

they were doing, and what they now think they did.”⁵ What is more, oral historians make their sources: “It is a creative, interactive methodology that forces us to get to grips with many layers of meaning and interpretation contained within people’s memories.”⁶ This cannot be treated lightly as supplementary data. The interpretation of oral history requires theoretical engagement with subjectivity, the active process of memory, language, the performance and construction of narrative, modes of communication, and issues of ethics.⁷ The following discussion focuses on the valuable nature of oral history in understanding and interpreting written archival sources, different representations of reading, and the nature of interwar reading experience.

Researching Boots Book-Lovers’ Library

Existing resources for studying the Boots Book-lovers’ Library are mainly held by the Boots Archive in Nottingham. These records provide fascinating detail about how the librarians were trained through both the manual issued by the chief librarian’s office, regular issues of the “Revised Instructions for Circulating Librarians”, and the “First Literary Course” (c. 1940) administered by branch librarians to trainees. The latter was a series of papers on popular genres and attitudes to readers, for example, juvenile subscribers. Advice regarding the western for instance considered the main writers, popular texts and appeal to readers:

Most librarians find that the demand for Westerns has increased lately. You probably observe that they are usually required by business or professional men who spend their days confined within the walls of an office, attending to the intricate details which compose modern life. These books take them in imagination to realms of open space with plenty of fresh air, and are sufficiently uncomplicated to make perfect relaxation after a busy day’s work.⁸

5 Alessandro Portelli, ‘What Makes Oral History Different,’ in Robert Perks and Alistair Thomson, eds., *The Oral History Reader* (London: Routledge, 1998), pp. 32–43 (p. 36).

6 Abrams, *Oral History Theory* (see above, n. 4), p 18.

7 Ibid., p. 7.

8 Boots Book-Lovers’ Library Training Manual, “First Literary Course” (c. 1940), “Fourth Paper: Light Romances and Family Stories and Westerns.” Nottingham, Boots Archive, Box 460.

Trainees were required to assimilate such corporate values regarding readers, popular fiction, and the notion of service by producing essays and taking exams in order to assume Boots Book-lovers' Librarian status. The archive also contains a rich collection of advertising materials which promote the value of a library subscription, the advantages of different payment schemes, the "relaxing" and "entertaining" nature of the books held by its libraries, as well as its stylish nature. Many of these are discussed in the chief librarian's "Library Notes" column in The Boots Pure Drug Company in-house magazine, *The Bee*. In addition, the archive holds a photo collection of branch libraries from across the country at different stages of the library's development. There are also reports commissioned by the directors regarding the operation of the library as a loss leader for the company before and after the war, and in comparison to its main rivals, particularly W.H. Smith. However, in order to understand how the Boots libraries served a heterogeneous public readership, research needs to address how it was actually used. This chapter discusses how an oral history of 300 subscribers, librarians and employees conducted in the mid-1990s illustrates how common beliefs about reading cultures were received and put into practice.

The oral history I conducted was initially motivated by the difficulty in interpreting the instructions issued to librarians and understanding from this how the libraries operated. In the words of Jean-Pierre Wallot and Normand Fortier, the printed archival documents provided an "incomplete image of the institutions and actors in society and their interactions, emphasising the official instruments, to the detriment of the informal process."⁹ This informal process is important to understand in the study of popular entertainment media. Procedural documents about the conduct of employees or the daily operation of the library need to be validated by those who can give evidence about experience. How did this policy meet reality? What was local experience? The oral history sought to understand how such complex bureaucracy was managed, the intricacies of the libraries' circulation practices, and the meaning of its popular representations in books and films.

The participants responded to a series of nationally syndicated articles in the local press and on radio, and the oral history recordings are accompanied by 700 questionnaires, some of which were returned with personal testimony and additional documentation. The interview required a defining structure which focussed on everyday routine. Librarians could be asked about the quotidian

9 Jean-Pierre Wallot and Normand Fortier, 'Archival Science and Oral Sources,' in Robert Perks and Alistair Thomson, eds., *The Oral History Reader* (London: Routledge, 1998), pp. 365–78 (p. 367).

nature of their working lives but this was difficult to replicate for subscribers. In response, most of the librarians used recurrent narratives of recruitment, employment, being on relief, meeting the needs of demanding customers, and leaving the library on marriage or becoming a head librarian of a branch library. For a particular generation this also included their reaction to the closure of the libraries and retraining. The interview schema, following an initial census questionnaire which was sent in advance of the interview and asked for details of when and where they worked, was relatively straightforward:

- Describe the main library
- How did you come to work at the library?
- Day to day job
- What was a typical subscriber like?
- Reading *The Bee*
- How did you feel about the work?
- What did you do after the Boots Libraries closed?

It was acceptable to ask librarians questions leading to a standard life history while trying to understand the particulars of the administration. All of these questions could lead to follow up prompts such as comparisons with other branches that they may have worked in; their job interview; different responsibilities held according to status; how subscribers were advised; whether librarians had particular preferences; what happened if a subscriber was disappointed or you could not find a book for them. Librarians were also free to take control of the interview and to talk about a particular incident or experience which epitomised their experience of the library.

Interviewing the subscribers was more challenging. Asking people about leisure and something as ordinary as reading is more difficult. The opportunities to extend the interview were more limited and the focus on one “trivial” activity more difficult to sustain. The interview needed to be kept on track but flexible enough so that the questions could generate expansive responses. Subscribers tended to hold back from talking about leisure reading due to a prominent shared concern about judgement regarding reading preference. In the post-war readership this centred on Mills and Boon publications, although many discussions took place about Boots’s light fiction and the “family fiction” categorisation in terms of how valuable this was for readers.

The interview schema for subscribers tried to elicit decision-making processes as well as providing space for the reader to talk about the experience of reading. The vocabulary for describing the qualities of a “good” book is very rarely rehearsed. A common language between researcher and subscriber

developed during the early interviews, so that these discussions could become longer and more in-depth. Key ideas were drawn from the debate in the 1990s about the competition that reading faced from other electronic narrative media which prompted a number of surveys for the book trade and public library service during that decade. Being able to quantify or qualify distinctions between avid readers, who read more than four books a month or ten hours a week, and light readers who may choose to read only on holiday or once a week, was useful. These late twentieth-century surveys of reading practice focussed on concerns about adult and child literacy and suggested that those interviewed perceived reading as a special activity. Half the survey population stated that the motivation for reading by adult readers is for relaxation and to relieve stress, with a quarter referring to this as escapism and a quarter describing the opportunity it gave them to use their imagination.¹⁰ Reading for “pleasure/entertainment” was referred to by over 80 per cent of the survey population but the nature of those pleasures went unexplored.¹¹ Those who did not read rarely stated that they did so because they did not like books but because other activities took priority or were more enjoyable; lack of time, particularly for women was the main reason given for not reading more.¹² Understanding contemporary reading patterns allowed for a more sustained discussion of past practice with the subscribers to the Boots Book-lovers’ Library.

The reasons for not reading in the present alerted the interviewer to why a subscriber may not be willing to dwell on reading as a pastime. The terms used by the Book Marketing Ltd respondents include “indulgence,” “anti-social,” a contrast with more practical employment of leisure time, guilt, and the interruption of social relations.¹³ Readers are more comfortable when they talk about a routine, a favourite place to read and their social interactions with other readers but none of these would form a successful central starting point for any interview. What these debates reveal is the difficulty of studying pleasure where enjoyment cannot be understood as straightforward and is often associated with anxiety.

10 Book Marketing Limited, *Reading the Situation: Book reading, buying and borrowing habits in Britain* (London: Book Marketing, 2000), p. 12. This report was produced for the Library and Information Commission.

11 *Ibid.*, p. 40.

12 *Ibid.*, p. 56. For a historical discussion of this point see Claire Langhamer, *Women's Leisure in England, 1920–60* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 2000).

13 Book Marketing Limited, *Reading the Situation* (see above, n. 11), p. 136.

The shared vocabulary and understanding of a reading practice that is not premised on instruction, elevation or improvement, was needed because subscribers were wary about being judged on their taste in reading matter and by taking part in solitary rather than social leisure activities. It was also referenced when readers talked about the transition from childhood to adult reading. Their reading material often came from many different sources and those who were willing to be interviewed rarely stated that they relied on the librarians for the selection of their reading. The interviews did not confirm the emphasis placed on the librarians' training enabling them to recommend fiction, their memories of attempting to send their subscribers out with satisfactory material and the demands made by the readers they served. The subscribers did confirm the values expressed in the marketing of the library and a sense of loss once the library was closed. However, in contrast to the interviews with librarians, once a subscriber had responded to an interview question they were reluctant to be returned to it and were more interested in talking about their current reading. The interview schema for subscribers followed this basic pattern:

- Census – library use
- Why choose Boots?
- Membership of other libraries
- Routine – visiting, choosing & reading
- Can you tell me about the librarians?
- Were there special displays?
- How did you feel when the Boots Libraries closed?

Both subscribers and librarians remembered Boots as providing a particular and distinct culture of reading. This was the creation of personal space in what they remembered as very crowded and busy times during their lives. As previously discussed, studies of late twentieth-century reading patterns show that reading changes in intensity according to life stage. Intensive childhood reading diminishes during adulthood, especially upon becoming a parent, and then increases in middle to old age when the reader finds that they have more time.¹⁴ Reading for the Boots subscribers was something that could be maintained throughout their lives: having paid for the subscription they were entitled to use it. The subscription justified reading as a beneficial habit and was licensed as a regular investment or a Christmas gift, whereas buying books, even the second-hand books from Boots, was not necessarily viewed in the same manner. The denial of books or limitations in access experienced in

14 Ibid., p. 130.

childhood or young adulthood was also cited as a reason to continue to subscribe to Boots. Richardson's emphasis on economy in exhorting his librarians to increase their efforts to attract subscribers was also in his readers' minds. However the meaning of economy also encompassed time, the value of a private social activity, and gift exchange. All of these values are evident in the Boots publicity materials but they are elaborated as social experience through oral history research.

Librarians and Readers

Jesse Boot created a physical space in his chemist stores which was shared by readers from many different backgrounds. In his preface to *A Catalogue of Modern English Literature* (1905), Boot acknowledges the role that bookseller and librarian held as moral agents but seeks to defer to the consumer:

Whilst we do not pretend to dictate to our readers as to either the quality or the range of their reading . . . we afford for the perusal of all literature, including some books that, personally, we regret to see published, but which in common with other libraries we are bound to supply on demand.¹⁵

The "On Demand" subscription, which entitled readers to borrow any volume in circulation, was the most expensive book-borrowing service on offer. A and B subscriptions allowed one to borrow all newly published books, or all but the newest books respectively. The library also offered special rates for reading groups formed by local clubs, work place associations and educational societies. By the 1930s, promotion for the library chose to emphasise that it had over 400 branches throughout the British Isles and a subscriber could borrow from the open shelves of all of them, while expecting the librarians of their regular branches to provide them on each visit with "something to read."

The *Catalogue* issued in 1905 to nearly 150 branches marked the consolidation of a national circulating library in Britain.¹⁶ The Boots Book-lovers' Libraries, first developed by Jesse's wife Florence, were a part of the firm's non-medical retail stock: the No. 2 department that comprised luxury goods and

15 Jesse Boot, 'Preface,' *A Catalogue of Modern English Literature: Being a Selection of the Best Known Works Circulated by Boots Book-lovers Library* (London: Boots, 1905), pp. vii–ix.

16 Stanley Chapman, *Jesse Boot of Boots the Chemist: A Study in Business History* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1974), p. 88.

services (cafes, hairdressers, gift departments), whose income supported the development of the No. 1 department (the pharmacy and patent medicines). Florence Boot was familiar with retail and the potential of books to attract custom and develop relationships having been brought up in Jersey where her family ran a stationers shop and operated a small lending library for the tourist trade. Along with her husband, she helped to create the Boots Book-lovers' Libraries as an effective loss leader which encouraged the middle-class clientele necessary to generate retail income for the manufacturing side of the business. The libraries played an important role in the firm's "Wonderstores" developed during the 1890s through to the 1920s: department stores located in the high street or areas of new development in Britain's main towns and cities, notable for their exterior and interior design and innovation in keeping with middle-class fashion and taste.¹⁷ Jesse and Florence Boot and their chief librarians – W.J. Roberts, Mercer Stretch, and F.R. Richardson – understood that the inclusion of books as part of the chemist stock was a complex commercial undertaking.¹⁸ They were acutely aware not just of the pleasures of personal reading that the Boots Book-lovers' Library offered but attendant cultural practices trading on the meaning of reading in relation to status and power, choice, luxury and consumption. Jeff Bezos used books in the same manner and for the same reasons in order to establish Amazon as a first destination internet retail portal a hundred years later.¹⁹

Both male and female subscribers from this period interviewed for the oral history avowed their love of books but described how they failed to overcome their parents' disapproval of public libraries. For them, Boots Book-lovers' Library became an acceptable alternative. They were used by female undergraduates in particular while they were home because of the range that the

17 Nickianne Moody, 'Fashionable Design and Good Service: The Spinster Librarians at Boots Booklovers Library,' in Evelyn Kerslake and Nickianne Moody, eds., *Gendering Library History* (Liverpool: Liverpool John Moores University/ARPE, 2000), pp. 131–44 (p. 134). See also Sally Dugan's discussion in this book's Chapter 9.

18 W.J. Roberts who had previously worked for a commercial library in Torquay replaced Mercer Stretch in 1905. Stretch oversaw the move of the library's headquarters from Nottingham to London in order to improve the efficiency of circulation. F.R. Richardson was Chief librarian from 1911 and during the interwar period. He oversaw the design of a new purpose-built headquarters for the library and during the 1920s developed a direct rapport with branch librarians in order to maintain and increase the efficiency of the library.

19 Nickianne Moody, 'Entertainment Media, Risk and the Experience Commodity,' in Jenni Ramone and Helen Cousins, eds., *The Richard and Judy Book Club Reader: Popular Texts and the Practices of Reading* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), pp. 43–58.

libraries offered and the support of librarians to order from the *belles-lettres* section of the catalogue and foreign language titles (the alternative was the Mechanic's Institute which was often unacceptable to the family). Schools were encouraged to form clubs for sixth forms which entitled them to use the library relatively cheaply. The emphasis on respectability is present in the catalogue and publicity for the library, but readers expected to be satisfied by their reading and to make their own choices about what they read.

In his column for librarians and managers in *The Bee*, the chief librarian F.R. Richardson was particularly mindful of a readership that needed to be defended. The commuter, the holiday maker and the traveller were all seen as important target customers who could be encouraged to use the Boots pharmacy through the initial attraction of the library service. Librarians frequently reported on the mixture of subscribers: from the gentry, to members of touring theatre companies, and travelling salesmen who brought new books and ideas about entertainment into local branches. Richardson felt that they should be considered as reading for pleasure rather than instruction. The "Great Fiction Question" which preoccupied library professionals prior to the Public Libraries Act of 1919, and which shaped attitudes towards mass culture and leisure during the interwar period, was still on-going.²⁰ Richardson's response was to explain the position of the library branches in relation to the economics of the national book trade and to validate reading as a legitimate pastime, a rational recreation for the modern age. In an extended essay on the subject published in 1924, Richardson identified the potential readers whom he felt Boots librarians should be making an effort to recruit. Here he envisages a casual reader who has not yet found "a convenient method of using a library subscription" and does not believe in the systematic reading prescribed by the public library.²¹ Richardson advised his librarians not just to approach the subscriber in a commercial spirit but to "sense the intellectual capacity of each subscriber, and by meeting the subscriber on this personal temperamental ground make the journey to the library not only a necessity for the purpose of changing books, but a necessity for the temperamental longing of the particular intellect."²² The potential reader in Richardson's essay becomes an ideal reader, a voracious one whose:

20 Nickianne Moody, 'Something to Read: the Boots Booklovers Library and the great fiction question,' *Popular Narrative Media* 1.2 (2008), 197–216. See also Mary Hammond, "The Great Fiction Bore: Free Libraries and the Construction of a Reading Public in England, 1880–1914," *Libraries & Culture* 37.2 (2002), 83–108.

21 F.R. Richardson, 'Library Notes,' *The Bee*, October 1924, 20.

22 Ibid.

tastes vary from G.K. Chesterton in his worst moods to Wyndham Lewis at his best, I am not hard to please, in fact I don't know what I really prefer in style, or whether I have any preference in my being. I like a rattling good yarn – possible or impossible of reality in life – I like a good blood and thunder adventure yarn among impossible nationalities in Wellsian imaginations – I can tolerate an occasional sob-story of the worst type – I like travel and occasional biography – I like an occasional journey into psychic wonderlands and delve now and then into dry economics. In short I am just an ordinary individual who would go up to the library shelves and glance knowingly at all the titles and authors, knowing best how little I do know, and how little I shall ever know about discriminating choice of good reading.²³

A reader's decision to join Boots Book-lovers' Library, Richardson reasoned, would be made on the grounds of economic sense and an appreciation of the privileges of membership. The librarian needed to be able to promote the library, to contribute to its smooth operation, and to expand and retain the number of subscribers, rather than just promote "good" reading. Richardson's attitude to the reader and reading as a pastime is demonstrated by his use of the phrase "something to read."²⁴ His address in 1924 concerning the ideal reader takes place during the month of October which "more than any other month in the year calls for the 'commercial' instinct the librarian possesses, for the continued excellence of our service depends on the increase of subscriptions at each branch for the next month or two."²⁵ Library branches could close or expand the number of staff according to the number of subscriptions and were therefore carefully monitored.

What is significant about this discussion is that these attitudes and beliefs about the benefits of reading were shared by the librarians themselves. The readers for Richardson's column were mainly young women. The library recruited school leavers, many of whom were recommended to branch managers by their teachers because of their "love of reading", and they were in their own estimation often from lower middle and working-class backgrounds. They acknowledged that their wages and conditions did not compare with other

23 Ibid. Although Richardson's implied reader is male, in publicity material from this period the subscriber is more often portrayed as a young woman with elegant make-up and hair-styling. Publicity shots of the libraries tended to show the library being used equally by men and women. See Moody, 'Fashionable design' (see above, n. 17), p. 132.

24 F.R. Richardson, 'Library Notes,' *The Bee*, July 1922, 15.

25 Richardson, 'Library Notes' (see above, n. 21).

employers but the cachet afforded by Boots as a company compensated for this. The library offered them a way of avoiding unappealing apprenticeships, a means to prolong their education and in many cases an opportunity to advance their own status for marriage or to leave home. It was frequently reported by librarians that they worked in Boots up until their marriage. Several added that they kept their engagement secret so that they could continue working as long as possible because they loathed the prospect of leaving the library.

Richardson encouraged his librarians to be vigilant in serving the public and looking to expand their subscription lists. Library work was seen as seasonal and the phrase “something to read” figures the library book as “a necessary adjunct to the person on holiday.”²⁶ During the summer, librarians were prepared for subscribers from one part of the country who would want to use new branches of Boots, and for applicants for the short date prospectus which would “initiate them into the privileges of a subscriber” during their holiday.²⁷ This was significant for the business as it was hoped that, in turn, these customers would use Boots for their pharmacy supplies and other general purchases. Similarly, in September 1922, Richardson advised librarians that “towards the end of this month with the discontinuance of much of the outdoor sport and occupation, will come the desire for evenings at home and something to read.”²⁸ Librarians remembered that the Christmas tree promoting gift subscriptions would be housed in the library and they would also be expected to devise summer displays of suitable goods and souvenirs to tempt visitors. They saw the library year as attracting different types of seasonal clientele and described the summer months as chaotic as many more children came into the library and the benefits of the prospectus had to be explained to new subscribers.

Joseph McAleer’s survey of adult reading habits, largely drawn from Mass Observation reports on reading, selection and taste, emphasises the reader’s dependence on librarians or newsagents to advise them.²⁹ Other sources, some reprinted from the regional press by Richardson and *The Bee*, provide accounts of librarians’ interaction with borrowers and reiterate that reading was a risk ameliorated by the professional in order to satisfy a disparate and ill-informed readership. Nowhere in *The Bee* is the reader represented as being in control of

26 Richardson, ‘Library Notes’ (see above, n. 24).

27 Ibid.

28 F.R. Richardson, ‘Library Notes,’ *The Bee*, September 1922, 15.

29 Joseph McAleer, *Popular Reading and Publishing in Britain 1914–1950* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), pp. 81–9.

their reading habit except in their power to demand the latest fiction from the Boots Book-lovers' Library. According to the oral history, librarians stated that they needed to understand personal taste, which frequently differed from their own, in order to provide a suitable recommendation. They sought to expand what a reader would enjoy and therefore be able to meet a regular reading habit which could be a daily rather than a weekly demand. Discussion with their readers encompassed the latter's response to films, plays, serialised magazine and newspaper fiction, as well as their hobbies and "daydreams," rather than relying on favoured and bestselling authors. Trusted recommendation is seen as a key aspect of successful bookselling and has used many different mechanisms in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.³⁰

From the librarians' point of view each library was seen as a pleasing environment ranging from grand to homely and was structured by an age differentiated hierarchy. As was common with other service and retail industries, at the age of twenty-one, the trained Boots Librarian could expect to be sent "on relief" and would thus mix with other women, encounter different library stock and meet new subscribers adding to her understanding of the book world. For some interviewees this was a crisis point in their careers, for others it was part of the ethos of on-going training. Upon completion of the exams, or in response to one of Richardson's competitions, librarians were often invited to London to see the central office of the library. This was intended to support their understanding of the extent of its operation and reinforce the necessity of following the complicated regulations and paperwork. Very often a photograph of the trip to London was a librarian's sole souvenir of her working life.

According to librarians and subscribers, the libraries had a distinct and familiarly ordered space: the librarian's desk with flowers brought from home, tables and chairs for subscribers to sit while compiling their booklists, the cupboard, stockroom or particular bookcase where reserved, special orders or red label books were kept, and the distinction between A and B subscriber shelves. Subscribers remembered the décor of the libraries and did not feel it inconvenient to walk through the whole of the store to access them. The libraries were usually located at the back or on the floor above the shop to draw the reader through the store to a carefully constructed ambience for the space, which was at the forefront of any considerations for refurbishment. Working-class interviewees, who were subscribers in the interwar period, spoke particularly about the Birmingham store where the Boots library was entered through the perfumery department. Their pleasure at the access to books was complemented

30 Moody, 'Entertainment Media' (see above, n. 19).

by their feeling of legitimacy when walking through sections of the retail store which they would not usually visit and would definitely not stop to browse in.

Readers responding to the oral history described using the library when shopping, and commuters appreciated that it was open later in the evening. They had regular patterns to visiting the library and generally felt that it offered a good service. They referred to the librarians as friendly and welcoming but generally thought that they made the decisions about the books they chose. They remember talking about books, but did not find that the librarians' interest was intrusive and felt rather that the librarians' recommendations saved them time if they were in a hurry or choosing books for other family members. They did not wonder about the place of a library in a chemist shop or that it was a national undertaking.

The bureaucracy governing the library was extensive and put in place to ensure efficient circulation, especially when demand was high for popular books. One librarian described how the central office was unable to meet demand for A.S.M. Hutchinson's 1921 bestseller *If Winter Comes* with its resonant but controversial themes of failing marriage, divorce and illegitimacy.³¹ Librarians often felt that they had to ration new books if head office was not forthcoming in delivering them and brought ideas back from "on relief" visits that might be of interest to their subscribers. Books which might offend subscribers were given red labels and kept out of general stock although made available if requested by readers paying more for the "On Demand" service. The practice was assumed by many Boots librarians not to protect the public but as a reminder to the librarian that this book might not be well received.³²

Training allowed librarians to develop their understanding of genre fiction as this is how Boots organised its library stock and later catalogues. Print records in the Boots Nottingham archive indicate that by the 1950s the library distinguished between different types of mystery stories; light romances, family stories and the western; short story writers and collections; humour; books about the sea, the countryside or sport; American novels and various types of non-fiction. The "First Literary Course" also expected librarians to understand

31 A.S.M. Hutchinson, *If Winter Comes* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1921).

32 Judgements were made by a full time reader at head office and comments made by head librarians from the branches. In comparison, readers and librarians felt that the W.H. Smith library was more pronounced in its willingness to censor what should be read. Moody, 'Fashionable Design' (see above, n. 17), p. 140. On the explicit and implicit practices of censorship as carried out by circulating libraries see also Nicola Wilson, 'Boots Book-lovers' Library and the novel: The impact of a circulating library market on twentieth-century fiction,' *Information & Culture*, 49.4 (2014), 427–49.

the publishing trade and familiarise themselves with bestsellers from the last twenty years. For their exams they were required to confirm the information in the course with reference to their own observations. Oral history complements archival research by locating documents held in private hands and this has included the notebooks and preparation undertaken by trainee librarians in order to take their exams. When asked about their subscribers, librarians often recalled particular instances where they were surprised by a perceived discrepancy between someone's class and status and their taste for lowbrow fiction. Reading was viewed as a series of different types of pleasure which could be legitimated with reference to a demanding work life (as in the example of the Western reader) or home life. Librarians and subscribers outlined a range of pleasurable engagements with fiction: the choice to read could be intellectual, it could be used as cultural capital in order to exchange opinions or ideas, but it could also be the experience of being absorbed by a good story. Librarians developed a nuanced and sophisticated understanding of escapism and what was required by the subscribers that used the library.

The method and practice of oral history to secure valuable qualitative data has a lot to offer book history but it is not without its difficulties. In this instance it was vital to explicate the printed records and archival sources concerning the Boots Book-lovers' Library, and allowed the interactions between various agents involved in the circulation of fiction to be researched in depth. However, talking about reading is a problematic enterprise, and the pleasures of reading are not straightforward. Many participants in this study found it awkward to articulate their reading experience in the expansive manner desired by the interviewer. This was due to a lack of familiarity – particularly on the part of subscribers – with talking about something perceived to be ordinary, but another obstacle was the different types of anxiety associated with reading. Nevertheless, the record and representation of reading as found in archival sources is significantly *enlivened* through oral history research.

PART 4

Postscript

∴

Surveying the Trade: *The Book World* and its Translocal Reach

Sydney J. Shep

Hidden away in the underground vaults of the Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington New Zealand, is a copy of *The Book World. A New Survey*: Location Turnbull General; Call Number G 010 HAM 1935. Its faded red cloth binding with gold stamped title in serif caps on front cover and spine is unassuming. So too is the octavo format: the size of two opened palms and thus human in proportion. The only indication of publisher is NELSON, in gold, on the spine tail: there are no intimations of author(s), editors, or readers. Open the book, however, and the production values belie the modesty of the volume's livery and Nelsons' usual functional education textbook remit. Warm cream, crisply sized, heavy laid paper with watermark almost hidden in the gutter, deckle edges waving enticingly along the fore-edge. The classic serified typeface and fully justified text is generously leaded with margins that never heard of war economy measures. The printing job done "in Great Britain / At the Press of the Publisher" is impeccable, with text precisely backed up and no dropped lines, clean. The restraint of the title page's centred design announces a stellar cast of authors whose names march alphabetically in double columns, with John Hampden, editor, bringing up the rear. At the foot, Thomas Nelson & Sons Ltd proclaims its global ambitions with typographically disposed northern hemisphere geographies: London, Edinburgh, Paris, Toronto, New York. Turn over the leaf and addresses fix the place of production and distribution. We learn "All Rights Reserved" and "First Published, October 1935." How and why did this copy travel half way around the world to a collection in the antipodes? Pencil annotations suggest *The Book World* was purchased in 1937 for nine shillings, acquisition number 49757. The bookplate confirms the library's ownership, a posthumous addition to a collection that was gifted to the nation upon Turnbull's death in 1918 and one already rich in the history and traffic of the material book.¹ Sadly the acquisition register for this period is lost so no further details to complement the material evidence can be ascertained.

¹ Alexander Turnbull Library Collections, National Library of New Zealand [accessed March 2015] <https://natlib.govt.nz/collections/a-z/alexander-turnbull-library-collections>.

I've opened this postscript by evoking the material presence of *The Book World* to remind us that this book is first and foremost an object: an object with a bibliography but also an object with a biography; an object that creates, as Frank Trentmann remarks, "social worlds" that are "not prior to or independent of social practices but codependent."² The material book is a thing of beauty, professionally crafted to exemplify the heritage of those aristocrats of artisans – members of the book trades – and fashioned lovingly to endure. It is also a commodity in circulation, part of a complex set of communication nodes and links, transport networks, and raw material flows that were imagined, at least in the nineteenth century, in the form of an octopus stretching its tentacles across the known world from north to south and from east to west. When we resituate ourselves in the world of the book, we encounter a material object with a material politics, one which Simon Frost so eloquently posits as the preeminent vehicle "to enable a trade in desires."³ These desires sit at the intersection of people, places, and things, inextricably tied to specific geotemporal events whether of production, of distribution, of consumption, or of preservation.⁴

Included in the textual apparatus is a ten-page bibliography that offers a snapshot of Anglophone inter-war books "concerned with practical politics and present day conditions."⁵ Intentionally omitting literary and historical works it is, nonetheless, an exemplary syllabus for new bookmen and women, and includes precise details about format, publisher and price for the acquisitive. In the decades before hypertext, it links us back to the over 700 titles in the *Books about Books* catalogue of that bastion of literacy and popular culture, the National Book Council;⁶ and it directs us outward to the landmark book historical collections of the London School of Economics and Political Science and of St Bride's Library, Bride Lane, just off Fleet Street, London, the epicentre of British printing, publishing and journalism.

The final surprise is the dust jacket, not thrown out and deposited in a landfill returning to its original cellulosic state, but tipped into the back cover. As the best form of advertisement, the jacket brings this commodity into modernity.

2 Frank Trentmann, 'Materiality in the Future of History: Things, Practices, and Politics,' *Journal of British Studies* 48 (April 2009), 283–307: 283, 297.

3 Simon Frost, in this volume.

4 Sydney J. Shep, 'Books in Global Perspectives,' in Leslie Howsam, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to the History of the Book* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2014), pp. 53–70.

5 John Hampden, ed., *The Book World* (London: Nelson, 1935), p. 204.

6 This collection now forms part of the Mark Longman Library held at the University of Reading [accessed March 2015] <https://www.reading.ac.uk/special-collections/collections/sc-longman-mark.aspx>.

The burgundy ink on warm, machine-made, parchment-style paper features a bold, slab serif outline shadow of the titling font, framed by borders of varying widths and styles. The chapter titles and authors feature prominently on the cover and the subjects are listed on the spine. The back cover includes the latest titles in the world of books, publishers and prices named and at the ready for their next sale. The word NELSON gazes omnisciently at the reader from the front cover and spine. The jacket flap is worth quoting as a masterpiece of entrepreneurial puffery:

A new survey of the book world in all its activities, and a discussion of its most vital problems, by writers who are among the foremost authorities on their subjects. Of the greatest interest to everyone who is concerned with books and their making, *The Book World* will enlighten – and entertain – the general reader who has a natural curiosity about authors, publishers, booksellers.

The Book World aspires to greatness, global reach, and inclusivity, originally enfolded between the paper of the dust jacket and embodied in a text that should, according to G. Wren Howard, treasurer of the Publishers' Association and joint managing director of Jonathan Cape, Ltd., “serve as the vehicle for the conveyance of the thoughts of the author to the reader . . . with the minimum of trouble, strain, or inconvenience.”⁷ But this world of books is also the by-product of its local institutional curation forcing a new material interaction that frames the reading experience. With an uncanny irony, the library's removal and relocation of the jacket echoes Howard's acerbic comments about such a “perversity of fashion” that conceals the well-wrought book in “lavish and expensive devices.”⁸ The lesser-used Turnbull Copy 2, distinguished by the addition of a white painted call mark on the spine, also inters the jacket at the back.

Stored offsite in Whanganui, north of Wellington, and four days away from request to delivery, a third copy lives in the National Library of New Zealand system. Completely jacketless, with white spatters on the rubbed and scuffed cover, and foxed and stained on the fore-edge, this is part of the “H.Q. COLLECTION” of the N.Z. Government Country Library Service. With Dewey call mark 655.5, acquisition number 27013 and date of arrival stamped 25 Jun 1938 in green, this volume archives the history of its mobility and tempts us into constructing diverse reading lives. On the back inside cover, where other

7 G. Wren Howard, ‘Book Production,’ in John Hampden, ed., *The Book World* (London: Nelson, 1935), pp. 89–108 (pp. 90–1).

8 Ibid., p. 108.

volumes guard the jacket, a slender pocket with white borrowing card records two transactions: 24.2.45 Oldham; and 6.9.45 Pte. Bright AEWS.HQ. Two paper slips are pasted across the gutter, the upper one stating, "Supplied at no charge from the collections of the National Library of New Zealand," with the return address of Document Supply Services. The dates 18 Jan 2011 and 17 Mar 2015 mark the latest issues. Seventy years stand between first and last borrowings.

Particularly noteworthy are the 1945 annotations. First run out of Auckland, then Hamilton, the first overseas New Zealand Army Education and Welfare Service post was established in Fiji, followed quickly by New Caledonia in 1942. As the official New Zealand Expeditionary Force Third Division history notes, "AEWS pioneers were the first to supply New Zealand's Expeditionary Forces on active service overseas with study courses, university, professional and trade examination assistance, text book loans, a full circulation and reference library service, 35mm and 16mm movie entertainment, the *Kiwi*, divisional and unit job-printing, a photographic darkroom service, lectures, discussion groups and pamphlets, rehabilitation advice, educational classes in art, music, radio, wool-classing, languages, photography, a general information service, quiz sessions, art and craftwork exhibitions and the official touring concert parties."⁹ Magazine and job printing were one of the key foci, and bases in the Pacific were populated by such icons of twentieth-century NZ printing as Bob Lowry and the popular army newspaper *Kiwi*.¹⁰ Did Private Bright borrow *The Book World* in 1945 with a view to vetting the publication and sending copies to the substantial overseas AEWS circulating libraries even as the war was winding down? Did he consider nominating it for one of the AEWS's training booklets? Or was he himself interested in the trade, hoping to while away the hours of headquarters administrivia with some improving literature, thinking of his own post-war future? For an organization that soon morphed into the New Zealand Technical Correspondence Institute, Bright's loan of *The Book World* was certainly an example of reading with a purpose.

Fast forward to George Allen & Unwin Ltd's *The Book World Today* of 1957 with a fully intact slate grey ink on fading blue dust jacket that proudly exhibits its wares. Set in 11pt Pilgrim type and printed in Great Britain by the East Midland Printing Company Limited, Bury St. Edmunds, Peterborough, Kettering, "and elsewhere," this new work is a hard cover edition for the reference

9 E.V. Sale, *Base Wallahs: The Story of the Units of the Base Organisation*, NWEF 1P (Dunedin: Reed Publishing, 1946), p. 136 [accessed March 2015] <http://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/tm/scholarly/tei-WH2IP-Base-t1-body1-d15.html>.

10 Peter H. Hughes, 'Robert William Lowry, 1912–63,' *Te Ara: The Encyclopedia of New Zealand* [accessed March 2015] <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/4h16/lowry-robert-william>.

bookshelf, 21s. net, nestled between Sir Stanley Unwin's *The Truth About Publishing* (1929) and Geoffrey Glaister's *Glossary of the Book* (1960). As the jacket puff suggests, "anyone who earns his living from books, is likely to find here facts and ideas which are new to him. . . . [C]ontributors state their cases freely, often expressing views which clash, sometimes violently, with those of the publishers. It is this clash of opinion which gives the book its great importance. It will be challenging, stimulating and of practical value to those inside the trade while others will find in it much of interest." With such a shift of focus away from the natural curiosity of the general reader and away from the twin pillars of enlightenment and entertainment, this is a very different, despondent, post-war creature.

This particular copy is part of the WN General Collection and lives in the basement of the National Library of New Zealand, the "mother" organization of which the Alexander Turnbull Library is a part. The book's Dewey call number 655.442 HAM 1957 is meticulously hand-inked in white on the spine; the volume is also tracked by means of its acquisition number 479127. This is a circulating copy, periodically released into the wild, complete with bar code, two issue slips pasted down, and a slim pocket on the back inside cover, with one white and one blue lending card, one stamped by the N.Z. Government National Library Service and the other typewritten by the HQ. Interloan locations and dates populate these cards, handwritten in blue fountain pen or red and blue biro, stamped in purple, black and red. *The Book World Today* was received on 9 Aug 1957, borrowed first by WS on 30 Aug '57 and used for a lecture by LS on 7 Aug '66; the blue card ends thirteen issues later with P.U. 4 Sep 73. The white card interrupts the chronological sequence with two annotations, the last being a due date of 20 Aug '71. A parallel recordkeeping system is kept on the pastedowns. And yet, from 1973 to the present is evidence of only one borrowing: – May 2000. Despite this latter-day monastic existence, what a mobile life exemplifying a wealth of borrowing if not readerly interactions over some sixteen years immediately post-publication. This is in contrast to the non-circulating copy, WTU 49983 which arrived 18 July 1957, has a later Turnbull bookplate, and an interred dust jacket, but no other marks of a living, breathing, temporal existence.

And yet, this was not the volume I first encountered when researching this postscript. After checking the Internet Archive for a digital edition (anything more than snippet view for Google Books or Hathi Trust is unavailable to New Zealand readers and neither had this title in their collections), I ordered up Victoria University of Wellington's offsite storage copy of *The Book World Today*, reprinted in 1970 by arrangement with Allen & Unwin, by the Books for Libraries Press, Freeport, New York, in their Essay Index Reprint Series.

This series provided inexpensive reprint editions for library purchase of some of the iconic works of nineteenth and twentieth-century American literature, world history, and general non-fiction. This particular volume is photographed from the 1957 setting and printed on slightly larger paper; its production values are serviceable if not durable. The blue cloth binding is stamped in silver over red for a spine where Hampden assumes the position of sole author; the BfL logo is blind stamped on the lower right corner of the front cover. "Not available for issue before 15 Sep 1972" this work was purchased for \$10.00 US, given the acquisition number 275,219 and the Library of Congress call mark Z323 H229 B 1970. The issue slip records four borrowings between November 1972 and November 1977.

So what were readers looking at in 1935 and again in 1957 and once again in 1970 – in New Zealand? How and why does *The Book World* figure in their reading experiences and why does this volume in the six different copies consulted thus far have a stickiness that outlasted the temporality of its content? That the 1935 edition includes a chapter "English Books Abroad" by Stanley Unwin, offers one clue. Examining the book markets across the commonwealth, he remarks that

New Zealand, with its one and a half million inhabitants, is a wonderfully steady buyer of English books – probably, per head of population, one of the best in the world outside Scotland. Perhaps it is because, in the South Island at any rate, there are so many New Zealanders of Scottish descent. The New Zealand booksellers declined to participate in the Australian net book agreement though provision was made for them to do so if they desired.¹¹

By the 1957 edition, Unwin updates and refines his profile. Now part of a chapter entitled "British Books Overseas," New Zealand – still tied to the mother-country's apron strings – is characterized as a country of two million inhabitants that remains "a wonderfully steady buyer of British books, and there are few towns that are not well served by booksellers. It is a market largely dominated by one highly successful firm (Whitcombe & Tombs) with branches almost everywhere except on the west coast of the South Island."¹²

11 Stanley Unwin, 'English Books Abroad,' in John Hampden, ed., *The Book World* (see above, n. 4), pp. 163–80 (p. 173).

12 Stanley Unwin, 'British Books Overseas,' in John Hampden, ed., *The Book World Today: A New Survey of the Making and Distribution of Books in Britain* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1957), pp. 212–23 (p. 217).

The New Zealand book-buying and book reading public was and remains a well-documented phenomenon. Until at least the 1950s, as a nation reliant upon the wholesale importation of overseas materials, printing equipment, and trained book trade personnel, New Zealand was in a vulnerable position. Many of its well-known writers looked back “home” for publishing avenues and marketing options, or were expatriates, based at or near the British sources of intellectual capital and commerce. Until the burgeoning of a clutch of small, independent presses in the 1970–80s, the country was a net importer of books and lacked a robust infrastructure to satisfy or sustain local demand for local literature in forms other than the literary periodical, little magazine, or newspaper journalism.¹³ As Noel Waite has demonstrated in his exemplary history of Christchurch-based The Caxton Press, printers like Denis Glover and Leo Bensemann were adept in “concealing the Anglocentric focus of the press and subordinating it to their aspirations for a national literature.”¹⁴ Despite the call to “go modern,” local manifestations of the “typus fever” communicated through such tomes as Frederic Ehrlich’s 1934 *The New Typography and Modern Layout* meant reflecting New Zealand through a mirror darkly, held up to the Arts and Crafts heritage of Eric Gill and Stanley Morison as well as Kelmscott, Doves, Nonesuch, and Bodley Head Presses.

And yet, in the 1930s, New Zealand was ready to tell its own “stories of becoming.”¹⁵ As the country moved towards 1940, the centenary of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, the founding document that established the still hotly contested terms of European colonization, various nation-building projects were on the boil. The Centennial Publications Programme was initially proposed by the then Under-Secretary of Internal Affairs Joseph W. Heenan and orchestrated by John Cawte Beaglehole, an academic historian specializing in the journals of Captain Cook who established the department’s “Historical Branch” and was closely involved with the Alexander Turnbull Library and the nascent National Archives. It was a publishing venture that aimed to produce and promulgate a master narrative of New Zealand national identity by a scholar who served as Heenan’s “Typographical Advisor.” Was *The Book World* in the library of John Cawte Beaglehole? As an avid book buyer, bibliophile, typographer and book designer, I could well imagine it stood

13 Michael O’Leary, *Alternative Small Press Publishing in New Zealand: An Introduction, with Particular Reference to the Years 1969–1999* (Wellington: Steele Roberts, 2007).

14 Noel Waite, ‘Invisible Typography and Concealing the Matrix,’ *Bulletin of the Bibliographical Society of Australia and New Zealand* 22.2 (1998), 93–106: 96.

15 Christopher Hilliard, ‘Stories of Becoming. The Centennial Surveys and the Colonization of New Zealand,’ *New Zealand Journal of History* 33.1 (1999): 3–19.

alongside any number of the works cited in the bibliography, many of which he bought during his sojourn in London (1926–33) and after he returned to New Zealand. *The Book World* would satisfy his interest in the material object as well as his need for intimate knowledge of the book trade in order to make the eleven historical *Centennial Surveys* and thirty pictorial *Making New Zealand* series an intellectual and financial success. Titles donated to the Wai-te-ata Press Library by his son, Tim Beaglehole, such as *The Printed Book* (Harry G. Aldis, 1917), Stanley Morison's *A Review of Recent Typography* (1927), *Type Designs: Their History and Development* (A.F. Johnson, 1934), D.B. Updike's two-volume *Printing Types* (1937), *The Printing of Books* (Holbrook Jackson, 1938), *English Printed Books* (Francis Meynell, 1946), *Introduction to Typography* (Oliver Simon, 1946), *House Style. Rules for Compositors and Readers* (Nelsons, 1948), and *Modern Book Design* (Ruari McLean, 1958) reflect an abiding interest in predominantly British books and bibliography.¹⁶

As I have argued elsewhere, Beaglehole's emergent yet conflicted nationalist aspirations were voiced through the British-influenced typography and design of the series.¹⁷ By the time Beaglehole's first volume was off the presses, however, the Wellington Club of Printing House Craftsmen had already produced its own retrospective of the trade. Entitled *A History of Printing in New Zealand, 1830–1940*, this survey of the craft proposed by the indefatigable Heenan and edited by historian R.A. McKay, offered a translocal response to Hampden's 1935 compilation. Following in the footsteps of the late-nineteenth-century New Zealand typographer and printer, Robert Coupland Harding, whose biography figures in its pages, this 600-copy limited edition, large format, colour publication revealed the homegrown technical expertise of the trade and celebrated its men of industry. The project had three aims: "to create the most beautiful book ever to be produced in New Zealand"; "to celebrate the part that printing has played in the first hundred years of New Zealand's history as a member of the British Commonwealth"; and to be "a memorial to the five-hundredth anniversary of the invention of printing by Johann Gutenberg in 1440."¹⁸ As far as the local trade was concerned, the project was embraced wholeheartedly as a way both to document its relatively short-lived history on

16 Wai-te-ata Press, Victoria University of Wellington [accessed March 2015] <http://www.victoria.ac.nz/wtapress>.

17 Sydney J. Shep, "'The centennial racket': J.C. Beaglehole, nationalism and the 1940 centennial publications," in Simon Eliot, Andrew Nash and Ian Willison, eds., *Literary Cultures and the Material Book* (London: The British Library, 2007), 387–98.

18 R.A. McKay, ed., *A History of Printing in New Zealand, 1830–1940* (Wellington: Wellington Club of Printing House Craftsmen, 1940), p. viii.

New Zealand soil and to bestow upon it “that intangible idealistic necessity – tradition.”¹⁹ High aspirations indeed. And yet, as the colophon of this “living record of the stage we have reached in this jumbled world of ours” proudly proclaims: “with the exception of the paper, everything used in the creation of this book was entirely produced in New Zealand.”²⁰ Celebrating the production of print for a local market, *A History of Printing in New Zealand, 1830–1940*, surveys a field that compares favourably in scope and depth to that of Hampden’s *The Book World* (1935). It also recognises the global economy of writing, printing, publishing, bookselling and reading and represents a trade in translocal desires that points forward to post-war survival and blossoming of both the local and translocal publishing industries and infrastructure. In reorienting Sir Stanley Unwin’s compass to an antipodean “north,” we could equally ask: “if ‘a nations’ literature is the permanent embodiment of the experience of its [greatest] men and women,’ could there be any more important or desirable thing for any nation to offer to the world?”²¹

19 Ibid., p. viii.

20 Ibid., p.ii.

21 Stanley Unwin, ‘British Books Overseas,’ in John Hampden, ed., *The Book World Today: A New Survey of the Making and Distribution of Books in Britain* (Freeport, New York: Books for Libraries Press, 1970), p. 223.

Bibliography

Manuscripts and Archives

Archives of Grant Richards, 1897–1948 (Cambridge: Chadwyck-Healey, 1979), Microform.
Glasgow, The Mitchell Library.
Illinois, Northwestern University Library, Charles Deering McCormick Library of Special Collections.
London, British Library Manuscripts.
New York Public Library, The Berg Collection.
Nottingham, Boots Archive.
Oxford, University of Oxford, Bodleian Library.
Oxford, Archives of the Oxford University Press.
Reading, University of Reading Special Collections.
London Borough of Camden Local Studies and Archive Centre.
London, Senate House Library.
University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, A.P. Watt Records Collection.
Wellington, Alexander Turnbull Library Collections, National Library of New Zealand.

Secondary Sources

Abrams, Lynn, *Oral History Theory* (London: Routledge, 2010).
Aiken, Conrad, *Senlin: A Biography* (London: Hogarth Press, 1925).
Aldington, Richard, *Death of a Hero* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1929).
———. *Death of a Hero* (London: Hogarth, 1984).
Altick, Richard, 'From Aldine to Everyman: Cheap Reprint Series of the English Classics 1830–1906,' *Studies in Bibliography* 11 (1958), 3–24.
Armstrong, Tim, *Modernism, Technology, and the Body: A Cultural Study* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1998).
Baines, Dudley, 'European Emigration, 1815–1930: Looking at the Emigration Decision Again,' *The Economic History Review* 47.3 (1994), 525–44.
Baker, Ernest A., 'Preface,' *A Descriptive Guide to the Best Fiction British and American* (London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1903).
———. 'The Standard of Fiction in Public Libraries,' *Library Association Record* IX (1907), 70–80.
Baker, Barbara, *The Three Rings* (London: Hogarth Press, 1944).
Baldick, Chris, *The Oxford English Literary History, Vol. 10, 1910–1940: The Modern Movement* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2004).

- Barry, Iris, *Lets go to the Pictures* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1926).
- Battershill, Claire, 'Biography and Autobiography at the Hogarth Press' (PhD thesis, University of Toronto, 2012).
- . "'No One Wants Biography': The Hogarth Press Classifies *Orlando*," in Ann Martin and Kathryn Holland, eds., *Interdisciplinary/Multidisciplinary Woolf: Selected Papers from the Twenty-Second Annual International Conference on Virginia Woolf* (Clemson, SC: Clemson University Digital Press, 2013).
- Batty, Ronald F., *How to Run a Twopenny Library* (London: Gifford, 1938).
- Beasley, Rebecca, 'On Not Knowing Russian: The Translations of Virginia Woolf and S.S. Kotelienskii,' *Modern Language Review* 108.1 (2013), 1–29.
- Beauman, Nicola, *A Very Great Profession: The Woman's Novel 1914–39* (London: Virago, 2004).
- Beckett, Ian F.W., *The Great War: 1914–1918* (Harlow: Pearson, 2007).
- Begam, Richard, and Michael Valdez Moses, eds., *Modernism and Colonialism. British and Irish Literature, 1899–1939* (Durham, N.C.: Duke UP, 2007).
- Bekkon, John, 'Books and Commerce in an Age of Virtual Capital: The Changing Political Economy of Bookselling,' in Manjunath Pendakur and Roma M. Harris, eds., *Citizenship and Participation in the Information Age* (Ottawa: Garamond Press, 2002).
- Bell, Alan, 'Review of J. Howard Woolmer's *A Checklist of the Hogarth Press*,' *Times Literary Supplement*, 3 September 1976, p. 1085.
- Bell, Bill, 'Bound for Australia: Shipboard Reading in the Nineteenth Century,' in Robin Myers and Michael Harris, eds., *Journeys through the Market: Travel, Travellers and the Book Trade* (Folkestone: Oak Knoll Press, 1999).
- Benkard, Ernst, *Undying Faces: A Collection of Death Masks* (London: Hogarth Press, 1929).
- Bennett, Arnold, *Literary Taste: How to Form It* (London: New Age Press, 1909).
- . 'Three Modern Rebels,' *Evening Standard*, 19 September 1929, p. 7.
- Benson, E.F., *Mapp and Lucia* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1931).
- Bergonzi, Bernard, *Heroes Twilight* (London: Carcanet, 1996).
- Betjeman, John, *Collected Poems*, 3rd ed. (London: John Murray, 1970).
- Black, Alistair, Simon Pepper, and Kaye Bagshaw, *Books, Buildings and Social Engineering: Early Public Libraries in Britain from Past to Present* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2009).
- Bloom, Clive, *Bestsellers: Popular Fiction since 1900* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002).
- Blunden, Edmund, 'The War Generation,' *Times Literary Supplement*, 19 September 1929, p. 713.
- Bodley, John Edward Courtenay, Appendix II: 'The Coronation Ceremony,' in *The Coronation of Edward the Seventh: A Chapter of European and Imperial History* (London: Methuen, 1903).

- Book Marketing Limited, *Reading the Situation: Book Reading, Buying and Borrowing Habits in Britain* (London: Book Marketing, 2000).
- Boot, Jesse, 'Preface,' *A Catalogue of Modern English Literature: A Selection of the Best Known Works Circulated by Boots Book-Lovers Library* (London: Boots, [1904]).
- . 'Preface,' *A Catalogue of Modern English Literature: Being a Selection of the Best Known Works Circulated by Boots Book-Lovers Library* (London: Boots, 1905).
- . 'Preface,' *A Catalogue of Modern English Literature Circulated by Boots Book-Lovers' Library* (London: Boots, 1912).
- Bornstein, George, *Material Modernism: The Politics of the Page* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2001).
- Bourdieu, Pierre, *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature* (New York: Columbia UP, 1993).
- Bowen, Elizabeth, *The Death of the Heart* (London: Vintage, 1998).
- Bracco, Rosa Maria, *The Merchants of Hope: British Middlebrow Writers and the First World War* (Oxford: Berg, 1993).
- Bradley, Sue, ed., *The British Book Trade: An Oral History* (London: British Library, 2008).
- Bradshaw, David, and Rachel Potter, eds., *Prudes on the Prowl: Fiction and Obscenity in England, 1850 to the Present Day* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2013).
- Brake, Laurel, 'Star Turn? Magazine, Part-Issue, Serialization,' *Victorian Periodicals Review* 34.3 (2001), 210.
- Brewster, Ralph, *The 6,000 Beards of Athos* (London: Hogarth Press, 1935).
- Bridge, Ann, *Facts and Fictions* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1968).
- Bullen, Michael, John Crook, Rodney Hubbuck and Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: Hampshire. Winchester and the North* (New Haven: Yale UP, 2012).
- Byatt, A.S., 'The Ferocious Reticence of Georgette Heyer,' *Sunday Times Magazine*, 5 October 1975, p. 29.
- Cannadine, David, 'The Context, Performance and Meaning of Ritual: The British Monarchy and the "Invention of Tradition," c. 1820–1977,' in Eric Hobsbawm, and Terence Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1983).
- Capelleveen, Paul van, 'Stampen, Rollen, Schudden, Zetten: de Nederlandse Scheepsdrukkerij,' in Marieke van Delft, Marco de Niet and Kees Thomassen, eds., *Bijzonders Divers: Studies over Opmerkelijk Driekwerk uit de Twintigste Eeuw* (Den Haag, Amsterdam: Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 2007).
- Carey, John, *The Intellectuals and the Masses: Pride and Prejudice among the Literary Intelligentsia, 1880–1939* (London: Faber and Faber, 1992).
- Catalogue of English Books in W.H. Smith & Son's Circulating Library* (London: W.H. Smith & Son, 1916).
- Caws, Mary Ann, and Nicola Luckhurst, *The Reception of Virginia Woolf in Europe* (London: Bloomsbury, 2008).

- Chapman, Stanley, *Jesse Boot of Boots the Chemist: A Study in Business History* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1974).
- Chinitz, David, *T.S. Eliot and the Cultural Divide* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003).
- Class List of Best Books, 1905–6 (London: Library Association, 1906).
- Cockburn, Claud, *Bestseller* (London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1972).
- Connelly, Joseph, *Faber and Faber: Eighty Years of Book Cover Design* (London: Faber and Faber, 2009).
- [Cotgreave, Alfred], 'The truth about giving readers free access to the books in a public lending library, by one who has tried the system in two large libraries' (London: [n.p.], 1895).
- Coward, Noel, *Still Life: A Play in Five Scenes* (London: Samuel French, 1935).
- . *Brief Encounter*, in Roger Manvell, ed., *Three British Screen Plays* (London: Methuen, 1950).
- Craig, Alec, *Sex and Revolution* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1934).
- . 'An Experiment in Adult Education,' in John Haden Badley and Mary Ware Dennett, eds., *Experiments in Sex Education* (London: Federation of Progressive Societies and Individuals, 1935).
- . *Above All Liberties* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1942).
- . *The Aspirin Eaters* (London: Fortune, 1943).
- . 'The Conception of Literary Obscenity and the Freedom of Letters,' in Herman Ould, ed., *Freedom of Expression: A Symposium* (London: Hutchinson International Authors, 1944).
- . *The Banned Books of England and Other Countries: A Study of the Conception of Literary Obscenity* (1937; London: Allen & Unwin, 1962).
- Crawford, Francis Marion, *The Novel, What It Is* (Boston Mass: Macmillan, 1893).
- Croker, Bithia M., *Diana Barrington: A Romance of Central India*, 3 vols. (London: Ward and Downey, 1888).
- Cryle, Denis, 'Gordon and Gotch from the 1940s to the Present: Regional Distribution and Integration in Australia, New Zealand and Papua New Guinea,' in Paul Eggert and Elizabeth Webby, eds., *Books and Empire: Textual Production, Distribution, and Consumption in Colonial and Postcolonial Cultures* (Wagga Wagga, NSW: Bibliographical Society of Australia and New Zealand, 2004).
- Dark, Sidney, *The New Reading Public. A Lecture under the Auspices of The Society of Bookmen* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1922).
- Darnton, Robert, 'What is the History of Books?' *Daedalus* 111.3 (1982), 65–83.
- Dell, Ethel M., *The Way of an Eagle* (London: Fisher Unwin, 1914).
- . *The Safety Curtain and Other Stories* (London: Fisher Unwin, 1917).
- . *The Lamp in the Desert* (London: Hutchinson, 1919).
- . *The Electric Torch* (London: Cassell, 1934).
- . *The Juice of the Pomegranate* (London: Cassell, 1954).

- . *The Bars of Iron* (London: Hutchinson, 1954).
- Dell, Penelope, *Nettie and Sissie* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1977).
- Dewey, Melville, 'Preface,' in *A Classification and Subject Index for Cataloguing and Arranging the Books and Pamphlets of a Library* (Amherst, Mass, 1876).
- Doyle, Charles, *Richard Aldington: A Biography* (London: Macmillan, 1989).
- Dzwonkoski, Peter, ed., *American Literary Publishing Houses, 1638–1899. Part I: A–M* [*Dictionary of Literary Biography* 49] (Detroit Michigan: Gale Research Company, 1986).
- Eggert, Paul, 'Robbery under Arms: The Colonial Market, Imperial Publishers, and the Demise of the Three-Decker Novel,' *Book History* 6 (2003), 127–46.
- Eliot, Simon, *Some Patterns and Trends in British Publishing, 1800–1919* (London: The Bibliographical Society, 1994).
- Eliot, T.S., 'Studies in Contemporary Criticism,' *Egoist* 5.9 (1918), 113.
- . 'Wilkie Collins and Dickens,' *Times Literary Supplement*, 4 August 1927, p. 1.
- . 'Introduction' to *The Moonstone, by Wilkie Collins* [World's Classics] (London: Oxford UP, 1928).
- . 'Introduction' to *Nightwood, by Djuna Barnes*, 2nd ed. (London: Faber and Faber, 1963).
- . *The Waste Land and Other Poems* (London: Faber and Faber, 1999).
- Eliot, Valerie, and John Haffenden, eds., *The Letters of T.S. Eliot*, 4 vols. (London: Faber and Faber, 2012).
- Ellis, Havelock, *More Essays of Love and Virtue* (London: Constable, 1931).
- Ervine, St. John, 'I Say There are Too Many War Novels,' *Daily Express*, 3 October 1929, p. 8.
- Faber, Geoffrey, *A Publisher Speaking* (London: Faber and Faber, 1934).
- Feather, John, *A History of British Publishing* (London: Routledge, 2005).
- Fisher, Raymond H., 'Review,' *The American Historical Review* 63.4 (1958), 989–90.
- Flanders, Amy, 'The Press in London, 1896–1970,' in Ian Gadd, Simon Eliot and Wm. Roger Louis, eds., *The History of Oxford University Press*, 3 vols. (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2013), 3: 136–88.
- Forster, E.M., 'The Censorship of Books,' *The Nineteenth Century and After*, 105 (1929), 444–5.
- . *Aspects of the Novel*, ed. Oliver Stallybrass (London: Penguin, 2005).
- Foster, Vere, *Work and Wages: Or the Penny Emigrant's Guide to the United States and Canada* (London: W. and F.G. Cash, 1855).
- Fraser, Robert, *Book History through Postcolonial Eyes* (London: Routledge, 2008).
- . 'Leonard Bast's Library: Aspiration, Emulation and the Imperial National Tradition,' in John Spiers, ed., *The Culture of the Publisher's Series*, 2 vols. (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 2: 117–33.
- Fraser, Robert and Mary Hammond, eds., *Books without Borders*, 2 vols. (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).
- Frayn, Andrew, *Writing Disenchantment: The Development of First World War Prose, 1918–1930* (PhD thesis, University of Manchester, 2008).

- Frost, Simon, 'Public Gains and Literary Goods: A Coeval Tale of Conrad, Kipling and Francis Marion Crawford,' in Kate Macdonald and Christoph Singer, eds., *Transitions in Middlebrow Writing, 1880–1930* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).
- Fry, Henry, *The History of North Atlantic Steam Navigation: With Some Accounts of Early Ships and Ship Owners* (London: Sampson Low, Marston and Co., 1896).
- Fussell, Paul, 'George Orwell,' *Sewanee Review* 93.2 (1985), 234–5.
- Gadd, Ian, Simon Eliot, and Wm. Roger Louis, eds., *The History of Oxford University Press*, 3 vols. (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2013).
- George, Rosemary M., 'Homes in the Empire, Empire in the Home,' *Cultural Critique* 26 (1993/4), 95–126.
- Gifford, Denis, 'The Early Memories of Maurice Elvey,' *Griffithiana: Journal of Film History* 60/61 (1997), 117–19.
- Gillespie, Diane, 'Virginia Woolf, the Hogarth Press, and the Detective Novel,' *South Carolina Review* 35.2 (2003), 36–48.
- . 'The Hogarth Press and "Religion": Logan Pearsall Smith's *Stories from the Old Testament*,' in Eleanor McNees and Sara Veglahn, eds., *Woolf Editing/Editing Woolf* (Clemson, SC: Clemson UP, 2008).
- . 'Please Help Me!: Virginia Woolf, Viola Tree, and the Hogarth Press,' in Derek Ryan and Stella Bolaki, eds., *Contradictory Woolf: Selected Papers from the Twenty-First Annual International Conference on Virginia Woolf* (Clemson, SC: Clemson UP, 2012).
- . 'Wedding Rituals: Julia Strachey, Virginia Woolf, and Viola Tree,' *Woolf Studies Annual* 19 (2013), 171–93.
- Gillies, Mary Ann, *The Professional Literary Agent* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007).
- Glass, Loren, 'The Ends of Obscenity,' *American Literary History*, 21 (2009), 869–76.
- Glyn, Elinor, *Romantic Adventure: Being the Autobiography of Elinor Glyn* (New York: Dutton, 1937).
- Gordon, Elizabeth, 'Under the Imprint of the Hogarth Press: Material Texts and Virginia Woolf's Corporate Identity' (PhD thesis, University of Alberta, 2007).
- Gould, Gerald, 'New Novels: War and Peace,' *Observer*, 22 September 1929, p. 6.
- Graves, Robert, *The Selected Letters of Robert Graves, 1914–1946*, ed. Paul O'Prey (London: Hutchinson, 1982).
- Green, Henry, *Pack My Bag* (London: Hogarth Press, 1940).
- Greenberger, Allen, *The British Image of India: A Study in the Literature of Imperialism, 1880–1960* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1969).
- Greenhill, Basil, and Ann Giffard, *Women under Sail: Letters and Journals Concerning Eight Women Travelling or Working in Sailing Vessels between 1829 and 1949* (Newton Abbot: David and Charles, 1970).
- . *Travel by Sea in the Nineteenth Century: Interior Design in Victorian Passenger Ships* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1972).

- Griest, Guinevere L., *Mudie's Circulating Library and the Victorian Novel* (Newton Abott: David and Charles, 1970).
- Gunter, Archibald Clavering, *Miss Nobody of Nowhere* (New York: Home Publishing Company, 1890).
- . *My Japanese Prince* (London: Samuel French, 1904).
- . *Mr Barnes, American: A Sequel to Mr Barnes of New York* (London: Stevens and Brown, 1907).
- . *The Shadow of a Vendetta: Being the Further Adventures of Mr Barnes of New York* (London: Ward, Lock and Co., 1908).
- Hall, Theodore, 'No End of Books,' *Washington Post*, 10 March 1934, p. 9.
- Hammond, Mary, "'The Great Fiction Bore': Free Libraries and the Construction of a Reading Public in England, 1880–1914,' *Libraries & Culture* 37.2 (2002), 83–108.
- . *Reading, Publishing and the Formation of Literary Taste in England, 1880–1914* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006).
- Hampden, John, ed., *The Book World* (London: Nelson, 1935).
- . ed., *The Book World Today: A New Survey of the Making and Distribution of Books in Britain* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1957).
- . 'Books and the British Council,' in Hampden, ed., *The Book World Today: A New Survey of the Making and Distribution of Books in Britain* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1957).
- . ed., *The Book World Today: A New Survey of the Making and Distribution of Books in Britain* (Freeport, New York: Books for Libraries Press, 1970).
- Hatton, Timothy, and Jeffrey Williamson, 'What Drove the Mass Migrations from Europe in the Late Nineteenth Century?' *Population and Development Review* 20.3 (1994), 533–59.
- Haycraft, Howard, *Murder for Pleasure: The Life and Times of the Detective Story* (New York: Appleton, 1941).
- . ed., *The Art of the Mystery Story: A Collection of Critical Essays* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1946).
- Hilliard, Christopher, 'Stories of Becoming. The Centennial Surveys and the Colonization of New Zealand,' *New Zealand Journal of History* 33.1 (1999), 3–19.
- . 'The Twopenny Library: The Book Trade, Working-Class Readers, and "Middlebrow" Novels in Britain, 1930–42,' *Twentieth-Century British History* 25.2 (2014), 199–220.
- Hobsbawm, Eric, 'The Invention of Tradition,' in Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1983).
- Hofmeyr, Isabel, *The Portable Bunyan: A Transnational History of The Pilgrim's Progress* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 2004).
- . 'From Book Development to Book History – Some Observations on the History of the Book in Africa,' *SHARP News* 13.3 (2004), 3.

- Horder, Mervyn, 'Grant Richards: Portent & Legend,' *London Magazine*, April/May 1991, 36–46.
- Hull, Robert, *Contemporary Music* (London: Hogarth Press, 1927).
- Humble, Nicola, *The Feminine Middlebrow Novel, 1920s to 1950s* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2001).
- Hutchinson, A.S.M., *If Winter Comes* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1921).
- Hynes, Samuel, *A War Imagined: The First World War and English Culture* (London: Bodley Head, 1991).
- Iles, George, *New Aids for Readers: Books Weighed and Compared by Experts* (Chicago: [n.p.], 1893).
- . *The Appraisal of Literature* (New York: [n.p.], 1897).
- Innes, Kathleen, *The Story of the League of Nations told for Young People* (London: Hogarth Press, 1925).
- Irvine, Lyn, *Ten Letter Writers* (London: Hogarth Press, 1932).
- Jaillant, Lise, *Modernism, Middlebrow and the Literary Canon: The Modern Library Series, 1917–1955* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2014).
- Jensen-Rix, Robert, 'Love in the Clouds: Barbara Cartland's Religious Romances,' *Journal of Religion and Popular Culture*, 21.2 (2009).
- Jerrold, Douglas, *The Lie about the War: A Note on Some Contemporary War Books* (London: Faber and Faber, 1930).
- Johanson, Graeme, *A Study of Colonial Editions in Australia, 1843–1972* (Wellington, N.Z.: Elibank Press, 2000).
- Joshi, Prija, 'Culture and Consumption: Fiction, the Reading Public and the British Novel in Colonial India,' *Book History* 1.1 (1998), 196–220.
- . *In Another Country: Colonialism, Culture, and the English Novel in India* (New York: Columbia UP, 2002).
- Kammen, Michael G., *The Lively Arts: Gilbert Seldes and the Transformation of Cultural Criticism in the United States* (New York: Oxford UP, 1996).
- Kaufmann, Michael, 'A Modernism of One's Own: Virginia Woolf's TLS Reviews and Eliotic Modernism,' in Beth C. Rosenberg and Jeanne Dubino, eds., *Virginia Woolf and the Essay* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997).
- Kaufman, Rona, '"That my dear is called reading": Oprah's book club and the construction of a readership,' in Patrocinio P. Schweickart and Elizabeth A. Flynn, eds., *Reading Sites: Social Difference and Reader Response* (New York: Modern Language Association, 2004).
- Kelly, Thomas, *A History of Public Libraries in Great Britain, 1845–1975* (London: The Library Association, 1975).
- Kirkpatrick, B.J., and Stuart N. Clarke, *A Bibliography of Virginia Woolf*, 4th ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997).
- Kloester, Jennifer, *Georgette Heyer: Biography of a Bestseller* (London: Heinemann, 2011).

- Kristeva, Julia, *Powers of Horror: An Essay on Abjection*, trans. Leon S. Roudiez (New York: Columbia UP, 1982).
- Kuhn, Annette, 'Cinema-Going in Britain in the 1930s: Report of a Questionnaire Survey,' *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television* 19.4 (1999), 531–43.
- Ladenson, Elisabeth, *Dirt for Art's Sake: Books on Trial from Madame Bovary to Lolita* (London: Cornell UP, 2007).
- Lancaster, Osbert, *Pillar to Post: The Pocket Lamp of Architecture* (London: John Murray, 1938).
- Langhamer, Claire, *Women's Leisure in England, 1920–60* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 2000).
- Latham, Sean, *The Art of Scandal: Modernism, Libel Law, and the Roman à Clef* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2009).
- Latour, Bruno, *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2007).
- Lawrence, D.H., *Pornography and Obscenity* (London: Faber and Faber, 1929).
- Leavis, Q.D., *Fiction and the Reading Public* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1932).
- Leypoldt, Augusta H., and George Iles, eds., *List of Books for Girls and Women and Their Clubs: With Descriptive and Critical Notes and a List of Periodicals and Hints for Girls and Women's Clubs* (Boston: American Library Association, 1895).
- Littau, Karin, *Theories of Reading: Books, Bodies and Bibliomania* (Cambridge: Polity, 2006).
- Little, W.B., 'Forces in the War,' *Times*, 17 April 1930, p. 10.
- Long, Elizabeth, 'Textual Interpretation as Collective Action,' in Jonathan Boyarin, ed., *The Ethnography of Reading* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: The University of California Press, 1992).
- . *Book Clubs: Women and the Uses of Reading in Everyday Life* (London: The University of Chicago Press, 2003).
- Lummis, Trevor, 'Structure and Validity in Oral Evidence,' in Robert Perks and Alistair Thomson, eds., *The Oral History Reader* (London: Routledge, 1998).
- Lyons, Martin, and Lucy Taska, *Australian Readers Remember: An Oral History of Reading, 1890–1930* (Melbourne: Oxford UP, 1992).
- Maddox, Randy L., 'John Wesley on Holistic Health and Healing,' *Methodist History* 46. 1 (2007), 4–33.
- Marcus, Laura, 'Virginia Woolf and the Hogarth Press,' in Ian R. Willison, Warwick Gould and Warren L. Chernaik, eds., *Modernist Writers and the Marketplace* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 1996).
- Marshik, Celia, *British Modernism and Censorship* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2006).
- Marwil, Jonathan, *Frederic Manning: An Unfinished Life* (Durham: Duke UP, 1988).
- Mao, Douglas, and Rebecca L. Walkowitz, 'The New Modernist Studies,' *PMLA: Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* 123.3 (2008), 737–48.

- Maudlin, Daniel, and Robin Peel, *The Materials of Exchange between Britain and North-East America 1750–1900* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2013).
- McAleer, Joseph, *Popular Reading and Publishing in Britain 1914–1950* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992).
- . *Passion's Fortune. The Story of Mills and Boon* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1999).
- McCall, James, 'Books and the Nation: Aspects of Publishing and National Identity,' in Paul Eggert and Elizabeth Webby, eds., *Books and Empire: Textual Production, Distribution, and Consumption in Colonial and Postcolonial Cultures* (Wagga Wagga, NSW: Bibliographical Society of Australia and New Zealand, 2004).
- McDonald, Gail, *Learning to Be Modern: Pound, Eliot, and the American University* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993).
- McDowall, Arthur Sydney, 'Mrs Woolf and Sterne,' *Times Literary Supplement*, 10 January 1929, p. 25.
- McKay, John P., et al., *A History of World Societies*, 8th ed. (Boston, Mass: Bedford/St. Martins, 2009).
- McKay, R.A., ed., *A History of Printing in New Zealand, 1830–1940* (Wellington: Wellington Club of Printing House Craftsmen, 1940).
- Mentzel-Reuters, Arno, 'Bücher auf der Nordatlantikroute 1890–1915,' *Deutsches Schiffsarchiv* (DSA) 23 (2000), 93–142.
- Miller, Laura J., *Reluctant Capitalists: Bookselling and the Culture of Consumption* (London: University of Chicago Press, 2006).
- Milne, James, 'A Library of Today,' *Cornhill Magazine* 150 (1934), 441–9.
- . *Memoirs of a Bookman* (London: John Murray, 1936).
- Moody, Nickianne, 'The Boots Booklovers Library,' *Antiquarian Book Monthly* (November 1996), 36–8.
- . 'Fashionable Design and Good Service: The Spinster Librarians at Boots Booklovers Library,' in Evelyn Kerslake and Nickianne Moody, eds., *Gendering Library History* (Liverpool: Liverpool John Moores University/ARPF, 2000).
- . 'Something to Read: The Boots Booklovers Library and the great fiction question,' *Popular Narrative Media* 1.2 (2008), 197–216.
- . 'Entertainment Media, Risk and the Experience Commodity,' in Jenni Ramone and Helen Cousins, eds., *The Richard and Judy Book Club Reader: Popular Texts and the Practices of Reading* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011).
- Moore, George, *Literature at Nurse: Or, Circulating Morals* (London: Vizetelly and Co., 1885).
- Morris, Nathalie, 'An Eminent British Studio: The Stoll Film Companies and British Cinema 1918–1928' (PhD thesis, University of East Anglia, 2009).
- Nash, Andrew, 'Literary Culture and Literary Publishing in Inter-War Britain: A View from Chatto and Windus,' in Simon Eliot, Andrew Nash and Ian Willison, eds., *Literary Cultures and the Material Book* (London: British Library, 2007).

- . 'Textual Instability and the Contemporary Novel: Reading Janice Galloway's *The Trick is to Keep Breathing On and Off the Page*,' in Patrick Parrinder, Andrew Nash and Nicola Wilson, eds., *New Directions in the History of the Novel* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).
- O'Leary, Michael, *Alternative Small Press Publishing in New Zealand: An Introduction, with Particular Reference to the Years 1969–1999* (Wellington: Steele Roberts, 2007).
- Ollé, J.G., 'The Lost Libraries,' *Library Review* 20 (1965).
- Orwell, George, 'The Cost of Letters,' *Horizon* (September 1946), 157.
- . *The Collected Essays, Journalism and Letters of George Orwell*, eds. Sonia Orwell and Ian Angus, 4 vols. (London: Secker & Warburg, 1968).
- . *Keep the Aspidistra Flying* (1936; New York: Knopf, 2011).
- Otness, Harold M., 'Passenger Ship Libraries,' *Journal of Library History* 14.4 (1979), 486–94.
- Paris, Michael, *Warrior Nation: Images of War in British Popular Culture, 1850–2000* (London: Reaktion, 2000).
- Parry, Benita, *Delusions and Discoveries. Studies on India in the British Imagination 1880–1930* (London: Allen Lane, 1972).
- Pease, Alison, *Modernism, Mass Culture and the Aesthetics of Obscenity* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2000).
- Pevsner, Nikolaus, *The Buildings of England: Suffolk* (London: Penguin, 1961).
- Pinto, Peter, 'We Have Been Reading Lately,' *Canadian Jewish Chronicle* [Montreal], 8 June 1928.
- Pirie-Gordon, Harry, 'Detectives,' *Times Literary Supplement*, August 12, 1926.
- Portelli, Alessandro, 'What Makes Oral History Different,' in Robert Perks and Alistair Thomson, eds., *The Oral History Reader* (London: Routledge, 1998).
- Potter, Rachel, 'Obscene Modernism and the Trade in Salacious Books,' *Modernism/Modernity* 16.1 (2009), 87–104.
- Rainey, Lawrence, *Institutions of Modernism: Literary Elites and Public Culture* (New Haven: Yale, 1998).
- Regis, Pamela, *A Natural History of the Romance Novel* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003).
- Richardson, F.R., 'Library Notes,' *The Bee*, July 1922, 15.
- . 'Library Notes,' *The Bee*, September 1922, 15.
- . 'Library Notes,' *The Bee*, October 1924, 20.
- . 'Library Notes,' *The Bee*, August 1927, 390.
- . 'The Circulating Library,' in John Hampden, ed., *The Book World* (London: Nelson, 1935).
- Roberts, William James, *Literary Landmarks of Torquay* (London: Werner Laurie, 1905).
- Roberts, Cecil, *Achievement – A Record of 50 Years Progress of Boots Pure Drug Company Ltd* (London: The Company, 1938).

- Rosenbaum, S.P., *Leonard and Virginia Woolf at the Hogarth Press* (Austin: University of Texas at Austin, 1995).
- Rukavina, Alison, *The Development of the International Book Trade, 1870–1895: Tangled Networks* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).
- Sale, E.V., *Base Wallahs: The Story of the Units of the Base Organisation, NWEF IP* (Dunedin: Reed Publishing, 1946).
- Sanders, F.D., 'The Structure of the Book Trade,' in John Hampden, ed., *The Book World Today: A New Survey of the Making and Distribution of Books in Britain* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1957).
- Scheurmier, Henry, 'Foreword,' in John Hampden, ed., *The Book World* (London: Nelson, 1935).
- Scholes, Robert, 'Grant Richards to James Joyce,' *Studies in Bibliography* 16 (1963), 139–60.
- Seldes, Gilbert, 'Extra Good Ones,' *Dial*, June 1928, 519–21.
- . 'Mr Eliot's Favourite,' *Dial*, November 1928, 437–40.
- Seville, Catherine, 'Novelists, Literary Property, and Copyright,' in *The Oxford History of the Novel in English*, 12 vols. (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2011–), 4: 22–35.
- Seymour, Miranda, *Robert Graves: Life on the Edge* (London: Doubleday, 1995).
- Shaylor, Joseph, *Sixty Years a Bookman* (London: Selwyn & Blount, 1923).
- Shep, Sydney J., "'The centennial racket': J.C. Beaglehole, nationalism and the 1940 centennial publications,' in Simon Eliot, Andrew Nash and Ian Willison, eds., *Literary Cultures and the Material Book* (London: The British Library, 2007).
- . 'Books Without Borders: The Transnational Turn in Book History,' in Robert Fraser and Mary Hammond, eds., *Books without Borders*, 2 vols. (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 1: 13–37.
- . 'Books in Global Perspectives,' in Leslie Howsam, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to the History of the Book* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2014), pp. 53–70.
- Sims, George, 'Grant Richards: Publisher,' *Antiquarian Book Monthly Review*, January 1989, 14–27.
- Skallerup, Harry R., *Books Afloat and Ashore: A History of Books, Libraries and Reading among Seamen during the Age of Sail* (Hamden, Connecticut: Archon Book, 1974).
- Skard, Sigmund, *Trans-Atlantica: Memoires of a Norwegian Americanist* (Oslo, Bergen Tromsø: Universitetsforlag, 1978).
- Sloper, L.A., 'Bookman's Holiday: We Love the Modernists,' *Christian Science Monitor*, 20 June 1931, p. 10.
- Snape, Robert, *Leisure and the Rise of the Public Library* (London: Library Association, 1995).
- Society of Bookmen, *Report of the Commercial Circulating Libraries Sub-Committee, etc.* (London, [n.p.] 1928).

- Sonne, Conway B., *Saints on the Seas: a Maritime History of Mormon Migration, 1830–1890* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1983).
- Souhami, Diana, *The Trials of Radclyffe Hall* (London: Virago, 1999).
- Southworth, Helen, ed., *Leonard and Virginia Woolf: The Hogarth Press and the Networks of Modernism* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP, 2010).
- . and Claire Battershill, 'The Hogarth Press in a Global Context,' in Jessica Berman, ed., *Blackwell Companion to Virginia Woolf* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2016).
- St Clair, William, *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2004).
- Stallybrass, Peter and Allon White, *Politics and Poetics of Transgression* (New York: Cornell UP, 1986).
- Staveley, Alice, 'Marketing Virginia Woolf: Women, War, and Public Relations in Three Guineas,' *Book History* 12 (2009), 295–339.
- Sturges, Paul, 'Conceptualizing the Public Library,' in Margaret Kinnell and Paul Sturges, eds., *Continuity and Innovation in the Public Library: The Development of a Social Institution* (London: Library Association, 1996).
- Sutcliffe, Peter H., *The Oxford University Press: An Informal History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978).
- Sutherland, John, *The Stanford Companion to Victorian Fiction* (Stanford: Stanford UP, 1989).
- . 'Introduction' to *The Moonstone*, by Wilkie Collins [World's Classics] (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2008).
- Swinnerton, Frank, *A London Bookman* (London: Martin Secker, 1928).
- . *Authors and the Book Trade* (London: Hutchison, 1935).
- Taylor, W.G., 'Publishing,' in John Hampden, ed., *The Book World* (London: Nelson, 1935).
- The Cape, Free State and Diamond Fields*, vol. I [S.W. Silver and Co. *Colonial and Indian Pocket Book Series and Voyagers Companion*] (London: S.W. Silver and Co., 1879).
- Thompson, Edward John, *The Other Side of the Medal* (London: Hogarth Press, 1925).
- . *The Cock Robin's Decease* (London: Hogarth Press, 1928).
- Towheed, Shafquat, 'Negotiating the List: Launching Macmillan's Colonial Library and Author Contracts,' in John Spiers, ed., *The Culture of the Publisher's Series*, 2 vols. (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 2: 134–51.
- Travis, Alan, *Bound and Gagged: A Secret History of Obscenity in Britain* (London: Profile, 2000).
- Treadgold, Donald W., *The Great Siberian Migration: Government and Peasant in Resettlement from Emancipation to the First World War* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1957).
- Trentmann, Frank, 'Materiality in the Future of History: Things, Practices, and Politics,' *Journal of British Studies* 48 (April 2009), 283–307.
- Unwin, Stanley, *The Truth About Publishing* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1929).
- . 'English Books Abroad,' in John Hampden, ed., *The Book World* (London: Nelson, 1935).

- . 'Introduction,' in John Hampden, ed., *The Book World Today: A New Survey of the Making and Distribution of Books in Britain* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1957).
- . 'British Books Overseas,' in John Hampden, ed., *The Book World Today: A New Survey of the Making and Distribution of Books in Britain* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1957).
- . *The Truth about a Publisher: An Autobiographical Record* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1960).
- . 'British Books Overseas,' in John Hampden, ed., *The Book World Today: A New Survey of the Making and Distribution of Books in Britain* (Freeport, New York: Books for Libraries Press, 1970).
- Waite, Noel, 'Invisible Typography and Concealing the Matrix,' *Bulletin of the Bibliographical Society of Australia and New Zealand* 22.2 (1998), 93–106.
- Waller, Philip, *Writers, Readers, & Reputations: Literary Life in Britain, 1870–1918* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2006).
- Wallot, Jean-Pierre, and Normand Fortier, 'Archival Science and Oral Sources,' in Robert Perks and Alistair Thomson, eds., *The Oral History Reader* (London: Routledge, 1998).
- Watson, Colin, *Snobbery with Violence: Crime Stories and Their Audience* (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1971).
- Watson, Janet, *Fighting Different Wars: Experience, Memory and the First World War* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2004).
- Weedon, Alexis, 'Elinor Glyn's System of Writing,' *Publishing History* 60 (2006), 31–50.
- Weir, Christopher, *Jesse Boot of Nottingham* (Nottingham: The Boots Company plc., 1994).
- Wells, H.G., *The Sea Lady* (New York: Appleton and Company, 1902).
- West, Rebecca, 'Notes on Novels,' *New Statesman* 19, 16 September 1922.
- White, Eric Walter, *Walking Shadows* (London: Hogarth Press, 1931).
- Willis J.H., Jr., 'The Censored Language of War: Richard Aldington's Death of a Hero and Three other War Novels of 1929,' *Twentieth Century Literature* 45.4 (1999), 467–87.
- Willison, I.R., 'The Recent Development of the History of the Book,' *Publishing History* 66.1 (2009), 77–87.
- Wilson, Nicola, 'Libraries, Reading Patterns, and Censorship,' in *The Oxford History of the Novel in English, 12 vols.* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2011–), 4: 36–51.
- . 'Virginia Woolf, Hugh Walpole, the Hogarth Press, and the Book Society,' *English Literary History* 79.1 (2012), 237–60.
- . 'Boots Book-lovers' Library and the Novel: The Impact of a Circulating Library Market on Twentieth-century Fiction,' *Information & Culture*, 49.4 (2014), 427–49.
- Winter, Calvin, 'The Libraries of the Trans-Atlantic Liners,' *The Bookman: A Review of Books and Life* 33.4 (1911), 368–75.
- Wodehouse, P.G., *The Inimitable Jeeves* (1923; London: Everyman, 2007).

- . *Carry on Jeeves* (1925; London: Arrow, 2008).
- Woolf, Leonard, 'Biographies and Autobiographies: The World of Books,' *Nation and Athenaeum* 12 (1927), 250.
- . *Beginning Again: An Autobiography of the Years 1911 to 1918* (London: Hogarth Press, 1964).
- and Virginia Woolf, 'Are Too Many Books Written and Published?', ed. Melba Cuddy-Keane, *PMLA* 121.1 (2006), 235–43.
- Woolf, Virginia, 'Journeys in Spain,' *Times Literary Supplement*, 26 May 1905, p. 167.
- . 'Sterne. Rev. of *The Life and Times of Laurence Sterne*, by Wilbur L. Cross,' *Times Literary Supplement*, 12 August, 1909, p. 1.
- . 'Tolstoy's "The Cossacks,"' *Times Literary Supplement*, 1 February 1917, p. 55.
- . 'Modern Novels,' *Times Literary Supplement*, 10 April, 1919, p. 189.
- . *The Common Reader* (London: Hogarth Press, 1925).
- . 'Introduction' to *Sentimental Journey*, by Laurence Sterne [World's Classics] (London: Oxford UP, 1928).
- . 'The Censorship of Books,' *The Nineteenth Century and After*, 105 (1929), 446–7.
- . *On Being Ill* (London: Hogarth Press, 1930).
- . *The Essays of Virginia Woolf*, eds. Andrew McNeillie and Stuart N. Clarke, 6 vols (London: Hogarth Press, 1966–2012).
- . *The Letters of Virginia Woolf*, eds. Nigel Nicolson and Joanne Trautmann, 6 vols (London: Hogarth Press, 1975–80).
- . *The Diary of Virginia Woolf*, eds. Anne Olivier Bell and Andrew McNeillie, 5 vols (London: Hogarth Press, 1979–85).
- Woolmer, J. Howard, *A Checklist of the Hogarth Press, 1917–1946* (Revere: Brotherson, 1986).
- Wootten, William, and George Donaldson, eds., *Reading Penguin: A Critical Anthology* (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Press, 2013).
- Wren, Howard, G., 'Book Production,' in John Hampden, ed., *The Book World* (London: Nelson, 1935).
- Wright, David, 'Commodifying Respectability; Distinctions at Work in the Bookshop,' *Journal of Consumer Culture* 5.3 (2005), 295–314.
- Wrong, E.M., 'Introduction' to *Crime & Detection* [World's Classics] (London: Oxford UP, 1926).

Online Resources

David Finkelstein, 'SAPPHIRE: The Scottish Archive of Print & Publishing History Records,' 'Printers on the Move,' <http://www.sapphire.ac.uk/printers-on-the-move/> and Scottish Readers Remember,' [http://sapphire.ac.uk/scottish-readers-remember-\(ahrc-funded\)/](http://sapphire.ac.uk/scottish-readers-remember-(ahrc-funded)/).

- English Heritage, 'The National Heritage List for England,' <http://list.english-heritage.org.uk/>.
- Erica Brown, 'Readerships and Literary Cultures 1900–50,' <http://www.middlebrow-network.com/SpecialCollection.aspx>
- Faye Hammill, 'Middlebrow Network,' <http://www.middlebrow-network.com/About.aspx>
- John Birchall, 'The World's Classics: A Library within a Library,' *Books in Wernicke*, 11 March 2012, <http://booksinwernicke.blogspot.ca/2012/03/world-classics-library-within-library.html>.
- Martin Maw, 'Milford, Sir Humphrey Sumner (1877–1952),' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/35020>.
- Matthew Evans, 'Guru-in-Chief,' *Guardian*, 6 June 2009, <http://www.theguardian.com/books/2009/jun/06/t-s-eliot-faber-matthew-evans>.
- 'National Life Stories: Book Trade Lives,' British Library, <http://www.bl.uk/reshelp/findhelpprestype/sound/ohist/ohnls/nlsbook/book.html>.
- Patrick Parrinder, Andrew Nash, and Nicola Wilson, 'The Impact of Distribution and Reading Patterns on the Novel in Britain, 1880–1940,' <https://www.reading.ac.uk/english-literature/Research/ell-novel-project.aspx>
- Peter H. Hughes, 'Robert William Lowry, 1912–63,' *Te Ara: The Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/416/lowry-robert-william>.
- Random House, 'Everyman's Library: About Everyman's,' <http://www.randomhouse.com/knopf/classics/about.html>
- 'Recording Archive for Public Sculpture in Norfolk and Suffolk,' <http://www.racns.co.uk/sculptures.asp?action=getsurvey&id=681>.
- 'RED: The Reading Experience Database,' <http://www.open.ac.uk/Arts/reading/>.
- Shelley Trower, Graham Smith, and Amy Murphy, 'Memories of Fiction: An Oral History,' <http://memoriesoffiction.org/>.
- 'The Modernist Journals Project,' <http://modjourn.org/>.
- Wai-te-ata Press, Victoria University of Wellington, <http://www.victoria.ac.nz/wtapress>.
- Wilkie Collins, *Penguin*, <http://www.penguin.co.uk/nf/Author/AuthorPage/0,,1000007536,00.html>.

Index

Notes: Works are listed under their authors. Page numbers in italics refer to illustrations.

- Aiken, Conrad, *Senlin* 122
 Aldington, Richard 6–7, 96, 99–102, 104,
 106–10, 112–16
 Colonel's Daughter, The 115
 Death of a Hero 7, 95–97, 99–102, 103, 104,
 106–10, 111, 112–16
 Roads to Glory 115
 Aldis, Harry G., *Printed Book, The* 196
 Allan Line 33, 34
 Allen & Unwin 1, 10, 141, 145, 146
 Allen, Grant 55, 56
 America, book market in 17, 30
 Angus & Robertson 26
 Aristophanes, *Frogs* 35
 Associated Booksellers 125
Athena (ship) 33
 Atherton, Gertrude 73
 Atlantic Monthly 23
 Austen, Jane 73
 Persuasion 73, 76
 Australia, book market in 17, 19, 21, 25, 27, 30
Australian Women's Weekly 19
 Authors Club, the 44
 Ayres, Ruby 83
- Bailey, H.C. 61
 Baker, Barbara, *Three Rings, The* 121
 Baker, Ernest A. 9, 154, 165–7, 168
 Guide to the Best Fiction in English 165–7,
 168, 169
 Balzac, Honoré de 166
 Barclay, Florence 83, 85
 Rosary, The 85
 Barnes, Djuna, *Nightwood* 71
 Batty, B.B., *Mrs Fauntleroy's Nephew* 168
 Beaglehole, John Cawte 195–6
 Beaglehole, Tim 196
Bee, The 174, 180, 182–3
 Belloc, Hilaire 84
 Bell, Vanessa 128, 129
 Benkard, Ernst, *Undying Faces* 121
 Bennett, Arnold 83, 87, 112, 113, 161
 Fame and Fiction 55
 Bensemann, Leo 195
- Benson, E.F., *Mapp and Lucia* 154
 Berne Convention (1886) 43
 Betjeman, John, *Ghostly Good Taste* 156
 Bezos, Jeff 179
 Blackwood, Algernon 61
Blenheim (ship) 36
 Blunden, Edmund 113
 Undertones of War 97, 113
Book of American Verse, A 54
Books about Books 190
 Book Society Ltd 15, 23, 29, 109
 Boon, Charles 87
 Boon, Mills and 175
 Boot, Florence 162, 178–9
 Boothby, Guy Newell 27
 Boot, Jesse 153–4, 158, 161–2, 165n, 178–9
 Boots Book-Lovers' Library 5, 8–9, 28, 109,
 153–63, 155, 156, 157, 159, 164, 165, 166–8,
 169–70, 171, 172, 173–5, 177–85
 Bowen, Elizabeth, *Death of the Heart* 170
 Bramah, Ernest 61
Br'er Rabbit 43
 Brewster, Ralph, *6,000 Beards of Athos,*
 The 121
 Bridge, Ann 22–3
 Enchanter's Nightshade 15, 18, 20, 23–4
 Ginger Griffin, The 23
 Illyrian Spring 23
 Peking Picnic 22–3
 British Traditional Market Agreement 29
 Bromley, A.N. 155
 Brontë, Charlotte 73
 Jane Eyre 55
 Professor, The 73
 Broster, D.K. 93
 Buchan, John 87
 Bulwer-Lytton, Edward 27
 Burleigh library 55
- Camelot series 55
 Canada, book market in 20
 Canute, King 158
 Cape, Jonathan 65, 77, 101, 102, 136, 191
 Cartland, Barbara 93

- Cassell's National Library 56
 Catlin, George 73–4
 Caxton Press, The 195
 Centennial Publications Programme,
 The 195
 Chambers Instructive and Entertaining
 Library 36
Chambers Popular Library 36–7
 Chambers, Robert 38
 Chandos Classics 56
 Chatto & Windus 15, 19–20, 22–5, 65, 78, 95,
 98, 99, 107, 109, 112, 115
 Chesterton, G.K. 61, 181
 Wild Knight and Other Poems, The 55
 Clarendon Press 57, 58
 see also Oxford University Press
Colburn's Magazine 36
 Collins, Wilkie 67
 Armada 66, 79
 Moonstone, The 52, 61, 65–6, 67, 68–9, 70,
 71, 74, 78–80
 Woman in White, The 61, 66, 67, 78
 Congreve, William, *Comedies* 66
 Conrad, Joseph 87, 166
 Romance 168
 Tales of Unrest 51
 Cooper, James Fennimore, *Water Witch,*
 The 36
 Copyright and Customs Act (1842) 21
 Corelli, Marie 27, 83, 153–4, 166n
 Cotgreave, Alfred 162
 Covici-Friede 99–100, 101
 Coward, Noel, *Still Life* 170
 Craig, Alec 7, 8, 134–5, 136–41, 143, 144–5,
 146–9
 Above All Liberties 137, 144
 Banned Books of England and Other Coun-
 tries, The 7, 135, 137–8
 Sex and Revolution 134–5, 141–2
 Crawford, Francis Marion 27, 39
 Novel, What It Is, The 39
Crime and Detection 61–2, 63, 64, 65, 69
 Croker, Bithia Mary 92
 Diana Barrington 92
 Cruikshank, George 163
 Cumberlege, Geoffrey 77–8
 Cunard 33, 37, 38
 Dawson 28
 Defoe, Daniel 61
 Dell, Ethel M. 6, 83–94, 109
 Bars of Iron, The 93
 Charles Rex 85–6
 Electric Torch, The 86, 87, 91
 Gate Marked Private, The 92
 Juice of the Pomegranate 86, 93
 Lamp in the Desert, The 85, 91
 Repentant Rogue, A 87
 Verses 93
 Way of an Eagle, The 83, 85, 87, 88,
 91, 92
 deMille, Cecile B. 38
 Dent, J.M. 58
 Dewey decimal system 117n, 118
 D., H. 96
 Dickens, Charles 169
 Oliver Twist 163
 see also Fireside Dickens series
 Diver, Maud 91
 Dobrer, Bonamy 66
 Doyle, Sir Arthur Conan 38, 61, 89
 Dumas, Alexandre 169
 Dunborne, Lady, *Romance of a Lawn Tennis*
 Tournament 168
 Edward VII, King 158–9
Egoist 119
 Eliot, George 61, 73
 Works III 73
 Eliot, T.S. 6, 52, 53–4, 60, 65–9, 71, 73, 78,
 79, 120
 “Studies in Contemporary Criticism” 119
 Waste Land, The 68–9
 “Wilkie Collins and Dickens” 67–8, 74
 Elizabeth I, Queen 159
 Ellis, Havelock, *More Essays of Love and*
 Virtue 145
 Emerson, Ralph Waldo, *Representative*
 Men 39
Emigrant's Manuals, The 36
Encyclopaedia Britannica 39–40
English Critical Essays, Twentieth Century
 (1933) 54, 74, 76, 78, 80
 Erlich, Frederic, *New Typography and Modern*
 Layout, The 195
 Ervine, St. John 114
Etruria (ship) 33
Everybody's Magazine 87

- Everyman's Library 58, 59, 62, 65, 161
Eve's Own Stories 88
- Faber & Faber 66, 71, 125
 Faber, Geoffrey 98, 141–2, 143
 Finny, W.E. St. Lawrence 160
 Fireside Dickens Series 59
 Forster, E.M. 76, 120, 138
 Aspects of the Novel 73
 "Philo's Little Trip" 73
Fourteen Great Detective Stories 61–2, 69
 Frankau, Gilbert 109
 Freeman, Richard Austin 61
 Freud, Sigmund 120
 Frowde, Henry 54, 57–8, 59–60, 73
 Fry, Roger 120
- Gaskell, Elizabeth 73
Ghosts & Marvels 60–1, 62, 64, 65, 69
 Gill, Eric 195
 Glaister, Geoffrey, *Glossary of the Book* 193
 Glover, Denis 195
 Glyn, Elinor 83, 86, 89, 92
 Gordon and Gotch Ltd 19, 23, 24, 26
 Gosse, Edmund 57
 Gould, Gerald *m*, 112, 113
 Graves, Robert, *Goodbye to All That* 96, 99, 102, 114–5
Great Britain (ship) 33
Great Western (ship) 33
 Greene, Graham 52
 Green, Henry, *Pack My Bag* 122
 Guion Line, the 33
 Gunter, Archibald Clavering 31–2, 35, 40–5, 42, 46, 47, 50, 51
 A.C. Gunter Publishing Company *see*
 Home Publishing Company
 'Assassination Attempt on the Crown
 Prince, and the Russian Nihilists' 43
Billy Hamilton 44
Bob Covington 44
Deacon's Daughter, The 40
Don Balasco of Key West 44
Florida Enchantment, A 40
Gunter's Magazine 31, 40, 41, 47, 51
Lost American, A 43
Miss Dividends 45
Miss Nobody of Nowhere 43, 45, 46
Mr Barnes, American 44
Mr Barnes of New York 40–1, 43–4
Mr Potter of Texas 44, 45
Phil Conway 44
Prince Karl 40
Princess of Copper, The 45
- Haggard, H. Rider 39
 Black Heart and White Heart 43
 Hall, Radclyffe, *Well of Loneliness, The* 101, 135–6
 Hamburg-America Line, the 33, 37–8
 Hamburg-South America Line, the 33
 Hamilton, Cosmo 83
 Hampden, John 1, 4
 Book World, The 1–2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 9–10, 17, 35, 140, 161, 170, 189–92, 194, 195–6, 197
 Book World Today, The 1–2, 3, 4, 7, 9–10, 29, 140, 143, 192–4
Hampshire Telegraph and Sussex Chronicle 47
 Harding, Robert Coupland 196
 Hardy, Thomas 87
 Harrods circulating library 28, 165
 Hatchards bookshop 145
 Haycraft, Howard 61, 62
 Heenan, Joseph W. 195, 196
 Hemingway, Ernest, *Farewell to Arms, A* 99, 101
 Hewlett, Maurice 39
 Forest Lovers, The 39
 Heyer, Georgette 93–4
 Hichens, Robert 38–9
 Hicks, George 19–20
 Hicks, Joseph 15, 25
 Hicks, Smith & Wright 15, 25
 Hodder & Stoughton 163
 Hogarth Press 7, 20, 25–7, 28, 72, 78, 118–24, 125–8, 129, 130–3
 Holme, Constance 74
 Home Publishing Company 31, 40–1, 42, 51
 Hornung, E.W. 61
House Style (Nelsons) 196
 Housman, Laurence 56
 Spikenard 55
 Howard, G. Wren 191
 Hueffer, Ford Madox, *Romance* 168
 Hull, E.M. 92
 Sheikh, The 83
 Hull, Robert, *Contemporary Music* 122
 Hurst & Blackett 83
 Hutchinson 83

- Hutchinson, A.S.M., *If Winter Comes* 184
 Huxley, Aldous, *Brave New World* 24–5
- Iles, George 9, 154, 165, 167, 168
List of Books for Girls and Women and their Clubs, The 165
Illustrated London News 92
 India, book market in 17, 27, 30
 Inman Line, the 33, 37
 Innes, Kathleen, *Story of the League of Nations Told for Young People, The* 122
 Irvine, Lyn, *Ten Letter Writers* 131–2
 Irving, Washington, *Chronicle of the Conquest of Granada, A* 73
- Jackson, Holbrook, *Printing of Books, The* 196
 James, Henry 87
Portrait of a Lady, The 52
 James, M.R. 60–1
 “Casting the Runes” 61
 Jensen, Johannes V. 43
 Jerrold, Douglas 114
John O’London’s Weekly 3
 Johnson, A.F., *Type Designs* 196
 Johnson, Samuel 54
 Jonathan Cape *see* Cape, Jonathan
 Jones, Phyllis 74
 Joyce, James
Dubliners 34, 55, 65
Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man, A 52
Ulysses 25, 139
 Joynson-Hicks, Sir William 136
- Kingsley, Charles 169
 Kipling, Rudyard 38, 39, 87, 91
Jungle Book, The 91
- Lancaster, Osbert 154
 Lane, John 55
 Lane, Sir Allen 1
 Lawrence, D.H. 138
Lady Chatterley’s Lover 3
Sons and Lovers 168
 Lean, David, *Brief Encounter* 154, 170
 Leavis, Q.D., *Fiction and the Reading Public* 2, 154, 169
 Legman, Gershon 147
- Lewis, Wyndham 181
 Leypoldt, Augusta H. 165
 libraries 3, 5, 6, 8–9, 38, 90, 108–9, 162
see also Boots Book-Lovers’ Library;
 Harrods circulating library; Mudie’s Select
 Circulating Library; Public Libraries
 Act (1919); Senate House Library; *Times*
 Circulating Library
 Library Association, *Class List of Best Books* 167
Library World, The 2
Listener, The 141
 London, Jack 43
 Longfellow, Henry Wadsworth 161–2
Love Stories 88
- Macmillan 21, 27, 28, 125
 Colonial Library 21
 Macmillans Empire Library *see* Colonial
 Library
 Overseas Library *see* Colonial Library
 Manning, Frederic, *Her Privates We* 100,
 108
 Manning-Sanders, Ruth,
Martha-Wish-You-Ill 128
 Mansfield, Katherine 120
 Mason, A.E.W. 89, 92
Four Feathers, The 92
Masterpieces of Literature 169
 Maupassant, Guy de 53
McCall’s 88
 McKay, R.A., *History of Printing in New Zealand, 1830–1940, A* 196–7
 McLea, Ruari, *Modern Book Design* 196
 Meredith, George 166
 Meynell, Francis, *English Printed Books* 196
 Milford, Humphrey 52, 53, 54, 59, 60, 62,
 65–6, 67, 68, 69, 71, 73–4, 76, 79
 Mills and Boon *see* Boon, Mills and; Boon,
 Charles
 Milne, James
 ‘Library of Today, A’ 163n
Memoirs of a Bookman 140n
 Minerva Library of Famous Books, the 56
 modernism 6, 25, 52, 73, 78, 79, 102, 118
 Modern Library, the 52, 62, 72, 75, 78
 Montague, C.E., *Disenchantment* 98
 Morgan, Charles, *The Fountain* 28
 Moring, Alexander 56

- Morison, Stanley 195
 Review of Recent Typography, A 196
 Morrison, Arthur 61
 Mottram, R.H., *Spanish Farm* trilogy 98
 Mudie's Select Circulating Library 8, 28, 29,
 109, 153, 163
 Musson's Book Company 20, 24

 Nash, Paul 102, 103, 104
Nation & Athenaeum 117
 Nelson, Thomas, & Sons 1, 189
 Net Book Agreement, the 7, 125
 New Zealand Army Education and Welfare
 Service post 192
 New Zealand, book market in 20, 21, 24,
 194–5
 Nicolson, Harold, "Jeanne de Hénaut"
 126n
 North German Lloyd Line, the 34, 37, 39
North Wales Chronicle 47

 Obscene Publications Acts 3, 7, 135
 O'Malley, Lady Mary Dolling *see* Bridge, Ann
 Oppenheim, Edward Phillips 27, 166–7
 Prince of Sinners, A 167
 Orczy, Baroness 94
 Orient Pacific 33
 Orwell, George 84–5, 90
 "In Defence of the Novel" 84, 85
 Keep the Aspidistra Flying 84–5
 Ouida 166n
 Owen, Wilfred, *Poems* 98
 Oxford Bookstore & Stationery company,
 the 26
 Oxford University Press 53, 55, 57, 75
 see also Clarendon Press; Oxford World's
 Classics Series
 Oxford World's Classics Series 6, 8, 52–5,
 56–60, 61–2, 64, 65–6, 67, 69, 72, 73–4,
 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 161

 Pain, Barry 61
 P&O Liners 38
Pearson's Monthly 39
Peg's Companion 8
 Penguin 1, 3, 30, 99, 117
Penny Emigrant's Guide 47, 48, 49
 Perrin, Alice 92
 Pinker, J.B. 6, 87

 Poe, Edgar Allan 61
 Pound, Ezra 96
 Prentice, Charles 6–7, 95, 99, 100–1, 102, 104,
 107–8, 109–10, 112–6
 Public Libraries Act (1919) 90, 180
Publisher and Bookseller 98, 110, 111
 Publishers' Association of Great Britain &
 Ireland 18–19, 21, 28–9, 125, 191
Publishers' Circular and Booksellers'
 Record 2
 Putnam 104

 Queux, William Le 168

 R&R Clark 126n
 Raymond, Ernest, *Tell England* 98
 Raymond, Harold 19–20, 25, 65, 78
Red Magazine, The 88
 Remarque, Erich Maria, *All Quiet on the*
 Western Front 96, 97–8, 100, 104, 105, 106,
 107, 108, 114, 115, 116
 Reynolds, G.W.M. 27
Reynold's Newspapers 47
 Richards, Grant 53, 54, 55, 56, 59, 60
 Richardson, Freddie 163, 169, 170, 178, 179,
 180–2, 183
 Ritchie, Anne Thackeray 76
 Roberts, Cecil 162–3
 Roberts, W.J. 169, 179
 Routledge 41
 "Half-forgotten Books" series 168
 Railway Library 56
 World Library 56
Royal Magazine, The 87
 Rulers of India Series 59
 Ruskin, John, *Modern Painters* 39
 Russell, W. Clark, *Romance of a*
 Midshipman 168

 Sackville-West, Vita 20
 Edwardians, The 20, 126n
 Sade, Marquis de 139, 148
 Sanders, F.D. 10
 Sassoon, Siegfried, *Memoirs of a Fox-Hunting*
 Man 97
 Scandinavian-America line 33
 Scott, Geoffrey 154
 Scott, Sir Walter 27, 37, 55, 61, 169
 Seldes, Gilbert 68–9

- Selected Modern English Essays* (1932) 54,
78, 80
- Senate House Library 147–8
- Shaw, George Bernard 50
- Shaylor, Joseph, *Sixty Years a Bookman* 140n
- ship's newspapers 38
- Sherriff, R.C., *Journey's End* 97–8, 99, 100, 115
- Silver, S.W. and Co., *Voyager's Companion* 38
- Simon, Oliver, *Introduction to
Typography* 196
- Simpkin Marshall 28, 29
- Sinclair, Upton, *Jungle, The* 50
- Sitwell, Edith 74
- "Sixpenny Poets" series 127
- Smith, W.H. 5, 8, 28, 29, 90, 109, 156, 168, 174,
184n
- Society for the Promotion of Christian
Knowledge 36
- South Africa, book market in 17, 30
- Spencer, Herbert 56
- Steel, Flora Annie 91
- Sterne, Laurence, *Sentimental Journey, A* 52,
71, 72–3, 75–6, 78, 80
- Stoll Picture Company 89, 92
- Strand* 88
- Stretch, Mercer 163, 164, 167, 179
- Swinerton, Frank 110, 112
A London Bookman 140n
- Swynnerton, Charles, *Romantic Tales of the
Panjab* 168
- Tales of Detection* 62
- Tauchnitz editions 21–2, 37, 39
- Taylor, W.G. 160–1
- Temple Classics 56
- T. Fisher Unwin *see* Unwin, T. Fisher
- Thackeray, William Makepeace 169
Pendennis 57
- Thingvala 33
- Thomas Nelson & Sons *see* Nelson,
Thomas & Sons
- Thompson, Edward John, *Cock Robin's
Disease, The* 127–8
- Times* Book Club, *The* 8, 28, 29
- Times* circulating library 165
- Times, The* 38, 90
- Tolstoy, Leo 53, 59, 72
- Traveller's Library, the 65, 76
- Tree, Viola, *Can I Help You?* 125–6
- Treleaven, Michael Vyne 158
- Trollope, Frances, *Widow Married, The* 36
- Unwin, Stanley 3, 4, 7, 15, 17, 24, 29–30, 83,
101, 110, 136, 140, 141–3, 144, 148, 194, 197
Truth about Publishing, The 21, 193
see also Allen & Unwin
- Unwin, T. Fisher 6, 83, 84, 88
- Updike, D.B., *Printing Types* 196
- Wallace, Edgar 89
- Warner, Sylvia Townsend 25
- Watt, A.P. 6, 84, 87, 88
- Watts-Dunton, Theodore 56, 57, 58, 60, 73
Aylwin 56
Weldon's Ladies Journal 88
- Wells, H.G. 61, 87
Sea Lady, The 39–40
- West, Rebecca 74, 85–6
- Wharton, James, *Squad* 98–9
- Whitcombe & Tombs 20, 24, 26, 194
- White, Eric Walter, *Walking Shadows* 121
- White Star Line, the 33, 34, 37
- W.H. Smith *see* Smith, W.H.
- Wiggin, Kate Douglas 166
- Wilde, Oscar 87
- Williamson, A.N. 166
Adventures of Princess Sylvia 166
Lightning Conductor, The 166
Newspaper Girl, The 166
- Williamson, C.N. 166
Lightning Conductor, The 166
- Wilson, John Mackay, *Tales of the Borders* 36
- Wister, Owen, *The Virginian* 38
- Wodehouse, P.G. 87, 109
Carry on Jeeves 85
snimitable Jeeves, The 85
- Wollstonecraft, Mary, *Vindication of the Rights
of Woman, A* 73–4
- Women's Weekly* 88
- Woolf, Leonard 7, 20, 78, 117, 118–9, 122,
123–5, 131, 132
see also Hogarth Press
- Woolf, Virginia 6, 7, 26–7, 52, 53–4, 66,
71–3, 74–8, 79, 118, 120–1, 123–4, 131, 132
"Censorship of Books, The" 136, 138, 145
"Modern Fiction" 54, 72, 76

- Mrs Dalloway* 52, 75
On Being Ill 126
Orlando 74–5, 76, 121
“Patron and the Crocus, The” 54
To the Lighthouse 76
Years, The 26
see also Hogarth Press
- Woolcott, Alexander 78–9
Wrong, E.M. 61
- Zola, Emile 53
Zweig, Arnold, *Case of Sergeant Grisha*,
 The 100